Daily Report

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FBIS-EEU-93-125 *1 July 1993*

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Ministry Denies Greek 'Slanders' on Clashes

AU3006160793 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 30 Jun 93

[Text] The Greek authorities are still continuing their sweep operation of violently expelling our refugees in the three border points of Kakavije, Kapshtice, and Sarande. What is the general number of the deported? It is difficult to determine it with exactness. However, the figures continue to increase.

According to a BBC report, the Greek authorities have allocated a sum of 23 million drachmas to finance this violent operation. They are even encouraging the police forces by increasing their wages up to 9,000 drachmas per day.

Meanwhile, a campaign of slanders continues in Greece and [words indistinct] for attack fronts against citizens and churches in minority areas. The pressure on our citizens is so great that many of them are obliged to unwillingly leave for the border, thus spending thousands of drachmas earned by their sweat.

Our border authorities have taken every measure to escort all the deported to their destinations.

The Greek mass media have recently spread the news that ethnic clashes between the Albanian population and the Greek minority have allegedly occurred in the south of Albania. The Foreign Ministry spokesman rejects these reports as false and considers them slanders with political and destabilizing reasons. Neither in north nor south Albania have there been clashes or ethnic aggravations, because the Albanian people are convinced of the fairness of the democratic government's course to defend their national interests. The Greek minority, which has lived in peace in the bosom of the Albanian people, is convinced of the friendly and peaceful stance of the Albanian people. Those who utter slanders about the so-called ethnic clashes see dreams with open eyes and will never manage to create destabilizing situations in Albania.

Reports on Deported Refugees

AU3006210593 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 2000 GMT 30 Jun 93

[Text] The latest data gathered from the Public Order Ministry confirm the following number of refugees being deported from Greece today:

—1,083 refugees from the Kapshtice border point; 47 were beaten and harassed and two of them were immediately hospitalized in Bilishti Hospital.

—910 refugees were deported to Kakavije border point. Of them, four were mistreated.

—Meanwhile, 40 refugees were expatriated from Corfu to Sarande by Gamilja Ferry Boat.

Thus, the total number of refugees deported from Greece today amounts to 2,033. Of them, 51 were harassed and two immediately hospitalized. [Words indistinct] have been with regular documents.

Refugees Returned Via Kakavija

AU0107112693 Tirana ATA in English 0812 GMT 1 Jul 93

[Text] Tirana, July 1 (ATA)—According to reports from the authorities of the border point of Kakavija, it comes out that the number of the Albanian refugees brought home from the Greek authorities through this border point has reached to 7000.

Sixty of these refugees have been beaten by the Greek police. The returned refugees have testified that their saved money have been taken in Greece and a letter was given instead. It said that Albanian refugees are handing their money at their will. This is an unscrupulous intrigue of the greek government.

Musaraj Denies Greek Priest Harassed

AU0107073693 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 2000 GMT 30 Jun 93

[Text] Public Order Minister Agron Musaraj denies the harassment and exertion of violence charges against Greek priest Khrisostomos.

Asked this morning by Radio Tirana about the Greek charge on the Greek priest's harassment, the public order minister [words indistinct] from the state order authorities and has been treated in a fitting manner by them, without exerting any kind of physical or psychological pressure. Moreover, the priest was accompanied by authorities to the Albanian-Greek border of Kakavije so as to secure his safety. The Greek side is a witness of this.

Greek Minority Rally Banned

AU0107072293 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 2000 GMT 30 Jun 93

[Text] The Public Order Ministry reports that on 28 June the Gjirokaster metropolis sent a written demand to the Public Order Department of this district asking permission to organize a rally, in which the participants would protest the expulsion of Greek citizen Khrisostomos and, at the same time, ask for his return to Albania.

After examining the request, the Public Order Department decided not to allow such a rally and, consequently, a negative answer was returned to the senders of the demand.

Despite this, at approximately 1100 [0900 GMT] this morning, the Greek minority attempted to organize the rally, which was banned by the authorities. Then, the citizens who were gathered, approximately 200-300 people, went to the church where a mass was being improvised, in which Human Rights Union Deputy Thoma Mico, the OMONIA [Democratic Union of

Greek Minority] representative, spoke. As we know, he is not a priest, but he came from Sarande especially for this rally. He spoke to the believers and presented a petition, which was read by a young girl, protesting the expulsion of the Greek priest.

The public order organs emphasize that they will not allow religious services to be turned into anti-Albanian activities in the future.

We would like to inform the public that there was no confrontation between the participants and authorities during this rally.

OMONIA 'Inciting Tension'

AU0107075793 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 2000 GMT 30 Jun 93

[Text] Gjirokaster Police Inspector Ilir Abazi has communicated to ATA that while Gjirokaster authorities on 25 June were charged to expel the Greek priest out of the country as an undesired person, former Deputy Panajot Valka, correspondent of the Greek program on Radio Gjirokastra, and other correspondents equipped with video cameras and tape recorders were filming and recording the event and, thus, inciting tension and provocations among the citizens and police. The correspondents in question of OMONIA [Democratic Union of the Greek Minority] Voice and Lajkodhime incited women and children to throw stones at the police.

President Berisha Meets With NATO Commander

AU3006152093 Tirana ATA in English 1021 GMT 30 Jun 93

[Text] Tirana, June 30 (ATA)—The President of the Republic Sali Berisha met with the commander in chief of NATO Allied Forces for Southern Europe, Admiral Jeremy Michael Border [name as received]. During the meeting, the president of the republic said that the transformation of the Albanian Army into a modern one is very important for our country. Although this switch is carried out under difficult conditions for the country and at a time when we intend to reduce military expenditures, we are determined to carry it through to the end.

Cooperation with NATO is increasing. Currently, the Albanian Navy, although small, is jointly operating with the NATO ships which are in the Adriatic in the context of embargo. Albania is perhaps the country most rigorously observing the embargo, which is causing considerable economic losses to us.

Zhulali, Commander Discuss Yugoslavia

AU3006151893 Tirana ATA in English 1018 GMT 30 Jun 93

[Text] Tirana, June 30 (ATA)—A delegation of the Command of the Allied Forces of Southern Europe led by the commander in chief of these forces, Admiral Border, arrived in Albania on June 29. He was welcomed at the airport of Rinas by the chief of the General Staff of the Army, Lieutenant General Ilia Vasho. Admiral Border and the delegation he leads had a meeting with the Minister of Defence Safet Zhulali. In this meeting, Mr. Zhulali pointed out that the relations of Albania with NATO are stable and have now entered a stage that "we like them to be more intensive." "As you know," he said, "we have asked to become a NATO member and our relations with NATO are such as if we are real members of it," he said.

Speaking of the cooperation of the Albanian Navy with the ships of NATO and West European Union operating in Adriatic for the realisation of the embargo in Serbia, the minister of defence stressed not only the concern of the Albanian party but also the confidence that cooperation in this regard will continue even better. In this context, he laid the need of supplying the Albanian Navy with technical equipment which will help to carry better its tasks.

Speaking of the situation in our region, Mr. Zhulali pointed to the desire of Albania to have peace and stability and the positive role it tries to play. In this regard, he valued the dispatch of peace keeping forces in Macedonia, adding that such troops should be sent in Kosova as well, where the situation created by the Serbian chauvinists is rather grave.

Certain forces of the neighbouring countries are not responding to the constructive efforts of Albania to calm the situation in the region, the Albanian minister underlined. He spoke of the incident of June 26 in the border with the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, the expulsion of the Albanian refugees from Greece recently, in reply to the expulsion of a Greek priest who carried out illegal activity. All these acts show that Milosevic is coordinating and influencing with all pro-Serbian forces, to destabilize even more the situation in the Balkans. "Albania," the minister of defence said, "will resolutely observe international norms, but at the same time it will not be indifferent towards such provocations."

The commander in chief of the Allied Forces of Southern Europe, Admiral Border, said he devotes most of his time to the problems with former Yugoslavia, therefore his visit to Albania was short, only some hours.

Valuing the cooperation of Albania with NATO, especially with its ships in the Adriatic, he pointed out its positive role in the stability and peace in the Balkans. In order to make this cooperation as efficient as possible, he offered some concrete roads such as the technical-professional qualification of the young Albanian officers, through their participation in the operation of the NATO ships in Adriatic and the missions of observation of its aircraft. This will also contribute to further cooperation between parties.

The commander in chief of the Allied Forces of Southern Europe voiced the confidence that in the future, there

will not be old generals who do not know each other, but young mayors who will get friendly and cooperate with each other.

Enterprise Restructuring Agency Established

AU2506190893 Tirana ATA in English 1020 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] Tirana, June 24 (ATA)—The Council of Ministers decided to establish the Enterprise Restructuring Agency. It will conduct its activity at the Ministry of Industry and Mining. By the end of the year it is planned to become independent from the Council of Ministers.

This agency will examine the technical and economic activity of 30 weak state enterprises. The domestic debt of these enterprises posed a lot of problems to the Albanian economy. The IMF in cooperation with the World Bank and European Bank of Reconstruction and Development tried to minimize this problem which is also common in other former Eastern countries. Apart from the domestic debt, these enterprises also inherit an outdated technology. The restructuring of these enterprises is a hard problem to handle with, Mr. Ceku, deputy minister of economy and finance, said to ATA reporter. A special fund is allocated to do this.

Black Sea Conventions on Cooperation Ratified

AU2606060493 Tirana ATA in English 0850 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] Tirana, June 24 (ATA)—The People's Assembly ratified the conventions of the Black Sea for cooperation in the fields of culture, education, and information. According to the convention, contacts are envisaged between educational institutions, including exchange of professors and students, symposiums will be organized on the scientific work and teaching methods. In the field of literature and culture, contacts will be established between publishing houses, libraries, archives, museums in order to make known the cultural and historical values. The convention also envisages establishment of relations between press organs, radio, television, exchange of experience among them. A council has also been envisaged to be set up to coordinate these activities and to follow the application of this convention.

Agriculture Protocol Signed With France

AU2706100493 Tirana ATA in English 1807 GMT 26 Jun 93

[Text] Tirana, June 26 (ATA)—For more than one year now, the cooperation between the Ministry of Agriculture and Nutrition of Albania and that of France has been materialised with the realisation of several agreements, mainly concentrated in Korce district. French aid in bringing modern apparatuses, material for breed improvement, various seeds, such as sugar beet, potato seeds, etc., as well as the training of many Albanian specialists in several scientific institutions of France, provide a sound basis for expanding the relations of Albania with France in the field of agriculture also in the future.

To this end, a delegation of the Ministry of Agriculture of France conducted talks recently at the Ministry of Agriculture and Nutrition. In the end of the talks a protocol of cooperation for 1993-94 was signed. Among the main points of this agreement are aid for the development of the Albanian livestock in the Korce district, the continuation of bringing seeds for increased productivity from France, aid for this region's irrigation and the intensification of contacts with the respective French enterprises for training medium specialists, etc.

Newspaper Reports Bread Prices To Increase

AU2506190793 Tirana ATA in English 1025 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] Tirana, June 24 (ATA)—GAZETA SHQIPTARE writes that the price of bread will increase at the beginning of next month. According the this newspaper, the adviser of Premier Meksi for the questions of food, A. Sinani, has stated that the price of bread will increase. He explains that liberalization of the prize of wheat will lead to an increase of the cost of bread production, hence, of its price as well.

Actually 1 kg of bread in the state shops costs 12 leks, three years ago the same quantity cost almost 6 times less. But the price of bread has increased according to the liberalization of prices in general.

Mr. Marchini Camia, representative of the EC in Tirana, declared to the newspaper that EC will help the Albanian Government in compensating this price increase.

Vice President Dimitrova Tenders Resignation

AU3006161293 Sofia BTA in English 1539 GMT 30 Jun 93

[Text] Sofia, June 30 (BTA)—This morning Vice President Blaga Dimitrova tendered her resignation to the Constitutional Court. Motivating her move in a letter addressed to the court, Mrs. Dimitrova writes that she had long been considering this decision and was prompted to take it by the moral crisis in Bulgaria over the last few months.

Mrs. Dimitrova writes she is resigning under Subparagraph 1 of Article 97 (1) of the Constitution, which says that "the president's or vice president's authority shall expire before the expiry of his term of office, upon resignation submitted to the Constitutional Court." Paragraph (2) of the same article says that "the prerogatives of the president or vice president shall be suspended upon the Constitutional Court's establishing the existence of the respective circumstances."

Mrs. Dimitrova's list of motives starts with the recent visit to Bulgaria by the Secretary General of the Council of Europe Mrs. Catherine Lalumiere. Declaring that being an outsider she has no right to make assessments, after half an hour's session with me she assessed in public my concise survey of developments as "slight exaggeration." "According to Mrs. Lalumiere, 'translated from diplomatese' Mrs. Lalumiere's 'slight exaggeration' means a lie." "At this decisive moment Europe, in the person of its high-ranking representative, shows disparagement and misunderstanding precisely of our people's struggle against lies," Mrs. Dimitrova writes.

Further on in her letter, Vice President Blaga Dimitrova asks rhetorically, "which is 'slightly exaggerated'?, the drastic dismissals of eminent democrats: regional governors, high-ranking employees in a number of important institutions, acknowledged professional journalists in National Television and BTA, actions encroaching on the freedom of speech and of the media," writes Mrs. Dimitrova, answering this question. The vice president assesses this as "brazen censorship," which she cannot accept. In her view, "when police baton-charge an M.P. and stage an armed occupation of National Television, this is the beginning of a dictatorship."

Another motive for Mrs. Dimitrova's resignation is the "flagrant restoration, epitomized in the composition of the Council of Ministers, almost half of whose members were until recently members of the Bulgarian Communist Party who proclaimed themselves to be nonpartisan." "It is only natural that the prime minister of such a government should threaten with emergency measures in his speeches and should introduce a bill to abridge the right to peaceful demonstrations," the vice president writes.

According to Blaga Dimitrova, the present composition of parliament is "nothing but a cheat of the voters." "The bogus majority in this parliament was formed by backstage machination and not by the popular vote," she writes. According to Mrs. Dimitrova, the way out is in early parliamentary elections, which will "restore the disrupted stability and justice."

Winding up her letter of resignation, Blaga Dimitrova writes, "I am absolutely unable to resist the process which threatens democracy because I am totally isolated from the presidential institution and barred from access to any information." As an example, the vice president cites the case in which she requested a copy of a document from Interior Minister Viktor Mikhaylov but was rudely refused. "I have the huge responsibility for the country on my tied hands," writes Blaga Dimitrova.

Blaga Dimitrova writes that the resignation unties her hands and makes her a free citizen rather than a "rightless and unwilling hostage of covert actions." "Preparations are under way for dictatorship in this country: this is an alarming fact of which, regrettably, Europe takes the myopic view typical of its attitude to the Balkans," Vice President Dimitrova writes.

Blaga Dimitrova, 71, was elected vice president of Bulgaria as a running mate of President Zhelyu Zhelev in the presidential elections in January 1992. The two were nominated and supported by the Union of Democratic Forces. Mrs. Dimitrova is a noted poetess and essayist, well known for her dissident positions under the Todor Zhivkov regime.

Following the announcement of Mrs. Dimitrova's resignation, National Radio reported that the employees of the office of the vice president were not informed in advance. The radio said Mrs. Dimitrova declined to comment.

BTA learnt from the Constitutional Court that it will probably rule on Mrs. Dimitrova's resignation on July 6, when a hearing of the case is scheduled.

President Zhelev Comments

AU3006171193 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 30 Jun 93

[Interview with Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, president of the Republic, by correspondent Khristo Khristov; in Sofia on 30 June—live or recorded]

[Text] [Khristov] Mr. President, what is your opinion of Mrs. Blaga Dimitrova's resignation?

[Zhelev] Today she called me at 1230 or 1300 [0930-1000 GMT] to inform me that she had already submitted her resignation to the Constitutional Court. I told her it would have been appropriate to discuss her decision in advance with me, to explain her reasons with me personally. I really regret that Blaga has acted in this way, at the very moment when tension in the center of our capital was beginning to subside. Her action is likely to increase the tension.

I am convinced that as a team elected together, regardless of our differences and disagreements, and even despite the controversies that sometimes emerged between us, we could still have substantially contributed to Bulgarian democracy, irrespective of all contradictions.

I do not see what other problems might result from the resignation, apart from the fact that we shall be obliged to hold elections for a new vice president. I do not foresee any other constitutional consequences; I shall continue to fulfill my duties as prescribed by the Constitution, because I am convinced that if one decided to take over a given post and assume the attendant responsibilities, he should proceed with his tasks to the end, despite all the difficult situations that are likely to emerge during one's term in office.

[Khristov] Were you surprised by Vice President Blaga Dimitrova's resignation?

[Zhelev] It was really a surprise, because there were no indications for such an act. In addition to this, I always assumed that if she should decide to take such a step one day, the least she could have done, would be to come and warn me, as well as to explain her motivations.

Yordanov Makes Statement

AU0107060993 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 30 Jun 93

[Text] In connection with Mrs. Blaga Dimitrova's resignation, in order to head off any speculation, Parliamentary Chairman Aleksandur Yordanov declared on National Television tonight, that today one can only speak about a procedure of discontinuing the vice president's functions. Only after the Constitutional Court has pronounced itself on the facts and reasons described in her letter of resignation can one really speak about Mrs. Dimitrova's withdrawal from her obligations toward the Constitution, toward the citizens of Bulgaria, and toward all friends of democracy, Aleksandur Yordanov said

Political Reaction

AU0107094793 Sofia BTA in English 2059 GMT 30 Jun 93

[Excerpts] Sofia, June 30 (BTA)—President Zhelyu Zhelev was surprised to learn about the resignation which Vice President Blaga Dimitrova tendered to the Constitutional Court this morning, writing in her letter that she had long been considering this decision. [passage omitted]

A constitutional court judge, who declined to be identified, told BTA that the vice president's resignation does not entail constitutional-law consequences for the president. [passage omitted]

The parliamentary forces have reacted in a different way to the vice president's resignation. Leaders and M.P.'s of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) assert that the SDS National Coordinating Council (the coalition's top political leadership) and the SDS parliamentary faction did not know about the resignation. According to Ms. Zlatka Ruseva M.P of the SDS, there will be no elections for vice president because Dr. Zhelev and Mrs. Dimitrova were elected on the same ticket. "Still, we will petition the Constitutional Court to interpret this constitutional gap," she said.

According to Mrs. Nora Ananieva, floor leader of the majority Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP), the vice president performs no functions of her own under the Constitution and no legal consequences can arise from Mrs. Dimitrova's resignation. "I for one believe that the active and one-sided commitment of Blaga Dimitrova to a position which departs from the constitutional powers of the presidential institution to unify the nation is in itself inexpedient," Mrs. Ananieva said. She added that Blaga Dimitrova took the right decision.

According to SDS leader Filip Dimitrov, the vice president's resignation is an act of moral and political significance.

Mr. Khristo Ivanov M.P. of the new Union for Democracy (of SDS breakaways and expelees), who was campaign manager for Dr. Zhelev and Mrs. Dimitrova, said that when Mrs. Dimitrova was nominated for the vice presidency, she was assigned to neutralize Zhelyu Zhelev in his presidential function so that he could turn into a puppet controlled by the union's top leadership, but she failed to do so. "The resignation will be the most brilliant move for which Blaga Dimitrova will be remembered," Mr. Ivanov believes.

According to Mr. Ibrahim Tatarlu M.P. of the ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms, the withdrawal of Blaga Dimitrova upsets the fine balance which he believes existed in the presidential institution. "In my opinion, her motives for resigning the office of vice president are unfounded, all the more so now that the country needs stability and civil peace and observance of the principles of parliamentary democracy," Mr. Tatarlu said.

Meanwhile, the Interior Ministry issued a denial of an allegation contained in Mrs. Dimitrova's letter of resignation. The Ministry's Press Centre said that Mrs. Dimitrova has requested information from Interior Minister Viktor Mikhaylov only once and has received information.

UN Sanctions Threaten Social Peace

AU2906204293 Sofia BTA in English 1934 GMT 29 Jun 93

[Text] Sofia, June 29 (BTA)—Refrigerator trucks of So Mat Inc were expected to block five or six key junctures in Sofia, as the mass media reported recently. The truck drivers demanded greater economic independence and an alternative to personnel cuts and protested against the

exorbitant charges for private and other haulage. Actually, these demands were satisfied four days ago, on June 24, by a Council of Ministers' decree which reduced certain unreasonably high charges, the government spokesman said this evening. Guided by common sense and civil responsibility, truck drivers working for So Mat Inc did not go on strike today. Unfortunately, the losses sustained by Bulgarian haulers due to the embargo against Serbia and Montenegro pose a much graver and more complicated problem, the spokesman said.

At enormous cost and losses Bulgaria has been observing the embargo as a civilized European country, but let us have a look at it from another, let us say, purely Bulgarian point of view: The embargo led to a drastic drop in road carriers' activity which could be expected to result in mass dismissals and the bankruptcy of a lot of companies. What is more, the embargo actually poses a threat to the country's social peace. The strike actions which, thank heavens, did not take place today may become a reality in the future if the problem of the transit corridor via Serbia and Hungary to Central and Western Europe is not resolved, the government's spokesman said.

The government posed the question of opening a transit corridor at the UN Sanctions Committee, but there has been no concrete reply yet, except for some unclear and unsatisfactory promises, like the one for giving Bulgaria access to the barrage on the Danube at Turnu Severin for instance.

In view of the complicated social situation and the negative impact of the embargo on the country's home trade and its payment balance, the Bulgarian Government will raise the problem of opening a transit corridor via Serbia at the UN Sanctions Committee once again. Prime Minister Lyuben Berov will invite the ambassadors of the European industrialized countries and the ambassador of the United States to ask them for practical assistance in solving the problem, the government's spokesman said in conclusion.

Police Control SDS Rally at Television Center

AU3006152893 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 26-27 Jun 93 p 2

[Text] Sofia, 25 June—Supporters of the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] appeared this evening in front of the television building. They shouted and screamed for Khacho Boyadzhiev to resign from his post of director of Bulgarian National Television. Most of the slogans displayed were in support of Agov and Mikhneva. SDS leaders commented on the poor turnout for the demonstration.

Interior Ministrer Viktor Mikhaylov told the National Assembly on the morning of 25 June that "the red berets" [special security forces] would again guard the television building if information is received that anyone is attempting to seize it. He advised any would-be occupiers to refrain from such fancies in good time, because the police would be rigorous in preventing any disorders. Eyewitnesses of the rally in front of the building at 29 San Stefano Street assumed that his words had been heard by those to whom they were directed.

We received reliable information that on the evening of Thursday 24 June extremist elements were to attempt to occupy the buildings of Bulgarian National Television and Bulgarian National Radio, Interior Minister Mikhaylov told parliament this morning. This news prompted him to order an antiterrorist detachment to reinforce the guards at both buildings. The minister explained that to avoid creating unnecessary tension in the work of the two institutions, the specialist groups brought in wore civilian clothes and carried their weapons in bags. The television and radio managements were informed in advance of the operation.

At about 1830 [1530 GMT] on Thursday 24 June, SDS Deputy Emil Katsudaliev appeared at the television center, accompanied by two other persons. He demanded an explanation as to why additional armed guards had been posted inside the building and then provoked a noisy incident by snatching a personal radio transceiver from one of the "red berets." Only the self-control of the police avoided a more serious incident, although under the regulations even a National Assembly deputy has no right to seize the weapons of the security forces, Minister Mikhaylov said.

About 100 participants in the SDS rally held in Aleksandur Battenburg Square appeared in front of the television building on Thursday [24 June] evening and disturbed television employees with their unimaginable shouting. Additional police from the Sofia Police Directorate stopped this group from approaching the metal barriers surrounding the building, without any incident.

Cabinet Postpones Foreign Debt Payments

AU2906195593 Sofia BTA in English 1800 GMT 29 Jun 93

[Text] Sofia, June 29 (BTA)—The cabinet today decided to postpone interest payments on its debt to the London Club of creditor banks until September 1, the government spokesman said after today's extraordinary cabinet meeting.

In case Bulgaria's commercial creditors change their position and take into consideration this country's financial difficulties arising from the embargo against Serbia and Montenegro, the Bulgarian government is ready to pay interest owed for the second and the third quarter of 1993 in a lump sum by the end of September, the government spokesman said.

Bulgaria suspended interest payments in late March because the appropriation for the purpose had run out and the 1993 budget passed in early July. It allocates 2,000 million leva for interest payments. Last September

Bulgaria resumed interest payments, suspended in early 1990 by the then communist government headed by Andrey Lukanov.

Bulgaria's foreign debt totals nearly 12,000 million dollars, of which 85 percent is owed to private creditors. Ms. Mariana Todorova, Bulgaria's chief foreign debt negotiator, left urgently for a meeting in Frankfurt and said on her return that payments on 20 per cent of interest could be resumed if parliament released the necessary funds appropriated in the budget. Bulgaria can afford to pay 200 to 250 million dollars a year to service its debt, according to estimates cleared with the IMF [International Monetary Fund] and the World Bank.

Ms. Todorova made a progress report on the negotiations with the creditor banks at an extended cabinet meeting today, attended by parliamentary floor leaders and the governors of the National Bank and the Foreign Trade Bank. The next steps of the Bulgarian delegation to the foreign debt talks were discussed.

BNB Governor Reports Downward Trend

AU3006201093 Sofia BTA in English 1601 GMT 30 Jun 93

[Text] Sofia, June 30 (BTA)—The Governor of the National Bank of Bulgaria (BNB), Prof. Todor Vulchev, submitted the bank's 1992 annual report at today's meeting of the National Assembly Economic Committee.

The report says that the downward trend in the economy continued last year. At the same time, in the main areas of its activity the BNB has achieved partial positive results.

In the foreign-exchange area, the exchange rate has been stabilized and the country's foreign-exchange reserve increased over the year. The BNB remains committed to a restrictive monetary policy which is intended to curb inflation. "We were unable to reduce inflation to the level we had promised the IMF [International Monetary Fund], but although high, at almost 80 per cent, it remains under control," the BNB governor said.

The report analyzes the national budget revenues, expenses and deficit. The National Bank and the Finance Ministry differ in their views of the BNB's contributions to the exchequer, mainly on two points, Prof. Vulchev explained. After May 1992, the Finance Ministry stopped paying the interest on its debt to the BNB, accruing an outstanding obligation of 2,800 million leva. An agreement is currently being discussed between the new leadership of the Ministry of Finance and that of the Central Bank on settlement of this problem. The second dispute with the Ministry of Finance is over the write-off of the 7,200 million leva debt of the power industry. The ministry claimed that no relevant decision existed on the matter. "But we think that such a decision, within the framework of the overall settlement of bad debts, was coordinated in the Council of Ministers. Unfortunately, only the BNB met its debts. The treasury failed to take on as public debt the sums planned last year," he said.

The BNB report points out that banking supervision is being improved. The bank's experts believe that currency issue operations are normal. New banknotes have been issued and the new issue of coins will go into circulation tomorrow. A new, the so far largest, denomination of 500 leva, is being prepared for issue on November 1. "We managed to calm citizens who are no longer afraid of a sudden currency reform," the BNB governor said.

The Economic Committee will take a stand on the submitted report at its next meeting.

The BNB's 1992 annual report is summarized in detail in BTA's English-language weekly newsletter BULGARIAN ECONOMIC OUTLOOK Nos. 20, 21, 22 and 23.

Havel Evaluates Six Months of Independence

AU3006133793 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 29 Jun 93 pp 1, 2

["(ha)"-signed report: "President Havel With Reporters in Lany"]

[Excerpt] At a news conference in Lany Castle yesterday, Vaclav Havel assessed the six months since the Czech Republic became independent, and his five months in office. He stressed, above all, that the division of the CSFR has not endangered the transformation of the economy. He appreciated the fact that economic reform has not interfered with the establishment of a law-abiding state, and that our political system is stabilizing. He said that the main task now is to carry out the far-reaching reform of the state administration and self-administration. The moral and spiritual revival of our society and the reflection of the identity of our state in the European context—from the point of view of the future and the past—is a long-term task.

The president stressed that basic macroeconomic indices are developing very favorably, and that basic instruments and institutions of a market economy are being established.

The success of the reform has been confirmed by the fact that new owners are taking over companies they acquired in the first wave of coupon privatization.

The basic collection of laws, including the legal provisions on the territorial setup of the Czech Republic, should be adopted before communal elections, in Havel's opinion. "The current situation in the state administration and self-administration is not good, but messy, and basic jurisdictions are not clear. This situation cannot be maintained for another four years."

Vaclav Havel announced that on 1 July he will meet with Slovak President Kovac in Smolenice. They will discuss long-term cooperation between the two countries and the coordination of their foreign-policy orientation. Building a firm border between the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic, and problems regarding the division of the former federation, are topical issues. [passage omitted]

Zieleniec Criticizes Liechtenstein on CE Vote

LD0107082793 Prague CTK in English 0654 GMT 1 Jul 93

[Text] Strasbourg, July 1 (CTK correspondent)—Czech Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec has called inappropriate the position of Liechtenstein in the vote on the Czech Republic's admission into the Council of Europe (CE).

The representative of Liechtenstein, whose ruler Hans Adam II has property claims towards the Czech Republic, abstained from vote in the CE Committee of Ministers on Wednesday.

Liechtenstein was the only country to abstain from the vote. I think this is an inappropriate stand, a stand which shifts bilateral problems to the multilateral level, to the level of the Council of Europe. It is generally recognised that such positions should not be taken in the CE, Zieleniec told CTK last night.

The other aspect of the problem is that our dispute with Liechtenstein is no ordinary tension between the two states. It is a dispute over property, private property of the Liechtenstein ruling family, and I think that to use it as a lever in international institutions harms Liechtenstein and its prestige. We have signals from participants in the talks (in Strasbourg), from our colleagues that they also take this view....but it is only a minor problem, Zieleniec pointed out.

He added that the Czech Republic would not react officially to Liechtenstein's position.

Liechtenstein's property claims go before February 25, 1948 (when the communists seized power in Czechoslovakia), which the Czech Government said had been the limit for property restitution.

Minister Dlouhy Reports on Visit to France

LD2906180593 Prague CTK in English 1508 GMT 29 Jun 93

[Text] Prague, June 29 (CTK)—France does not insist on the Visegrad Group (comprising the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia) becoming an official entity, if the member countries will increase their trade within the group and will not set their sights solely on the west, Czech minister of trade and industry told journalists today.

Commenting on his visit to France on June 28-29, Vladimir Dlouhy described this view as bringing relief to Czech anxiety.

When in France, Dlouhy rejected accusations that Czech goods were being dumped because, he said, their prices did not include the environmental and social costs which were commonplace in the west. When countering these claims, he stressed that the Czech Republic did have stringent environmental laws and a sufficiently developed protective network of social benefits.

Dlouhy said that as production in the Czech Republic was no longer subsidised, it would be improper to put Hungary and the Czech Republic into one group with Russia and Ukraine, the reason being that in the latter two countries state-owned enterprises were still prevalent and dumping was a real threat.

With a 14 per cent share in investments, France ranks third among foreign investors in the Czech Republic. Holland, another country recently visited by Dlouhy, has a share of only 2 per cent.

The volume of foreign investments in the Czech Republic reached 302 million USD in the first quarter of this year, Dlouhy said.

Kocarnik Talks With Mayors About Local Budgets

AU3006134593 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 29 Jun 93 p 2

["dz"-signed report: "Minister Kocarnik Estimates Next Year's Inflation at 9 Percent"]

[Text] A nominal growth of 12 percent in the 1994 local budgets is assumed in their draft. I estimate next year's inflation rate at 9 percent, Finance Minister Ivan Kocarnik said at the meeting with mayors from the entire Czech Republic that took place in Prague yesterday.

Analyses of this year's developments so far show unequivocally that, despite some weaknesses, the new approach to the budgets of towns and communities has proved itself, the minister said. It is now estimated that this year's local budget revenues will be 10 to 13 billion korunas higher than originally expected. The contributing factors are last year's revenues and this year's development in employment income tax [dan z prijnmu ze zavisle cinnosti]. The favorable development in the state budget facilitates a 10 billion korunas increase in expenditures—700 million of which has been assigned to the unfinished investment actions of the towns and communities. The rate of self-financing of the communities next year will remain at the same level as it was this year, i.e. 65 percent from its own revenues and 35 percent from subsidies. The taxes, i.e. the source of town revenues, will not change. It is expected, however, that the town and community budgets will no longer include receipts from property sales. Special purpose subsidies will be increased to the detriment of the general compensatory subsidies. An increase is planned in subsidies for education (to 1,000 korunas per pupil) and social security.

Much of the mayors' discussion centered on the question of whether libraries, museums, galleries, zoos, theaters, and similar facilities are to remain under the control of the district authorities or be transferred to the communities. After several controversial speeches, Kocarnik asserted that his ministry has not yet assumed a definite stand on the issue. A possibility exists that a free course would be let to the development, and the communities could either voluntarily assume the control of these facilities or choose the administrative route of transfers accompanied by changes in the distribution of funds.

Labor Minister Comments on Wage Regulation

LD2906175393 Prague CTK in English 1457 GMT 29 Jun 93

[Text] Prague, June 29 (CTK)—Wages in the Czech Republic will only be regulated until the threat of inflation passes, Czech Minister of Labour and Social Affairs Jindrich Vodicka told a press conference today.

We are not a government which likes to impose regulations, he added.

The risk of an inflationary rise in wages must be expected until the privatisation process is fully accomplished and property relations are stabilised, Vodicka stressed. Such an increase might weaken the companies' competitiveness, add to their troubles in controlling markets, and result in the worsening of the situation in the labour market, Vodicka explained.

Thus the state budget law for 1993 authorised the government to impose regulation and sanctionary measures if the increase in employees' average wages surpassed that in consumer prices by more than five per cent. This was the case with many companies in the first quarter of 1993, and therefore the proposed regulation and sanctionary measures were aimed at such companies in the third and fourth quarter of 1993, Vodicka said.

The measures will be selective in character, as profitable firms will be allowed to increase wages above the regulation limit, Vodicka underlined, referring to a proposal to be discussed by the Czech government on June 30.

The regulations will also concern financial institutions, as banks are centres of wage infection, Vodicka said.

The same applies to contractual wages of directors and managers, which are far surpassing the earnings of other employees and thus exerting pressure on these to increase in turn, Vodicka emphasised.

Commodity Exchange Opens in Brno

LD2906144093 Prague CTK in English 1248 GMT 29 Jun 93

[Text] Brno, South Moravia, June 29 (CTK)—Czech Deputy Premier and Minister of Agriculture Josef Lux expects the commodity exchange in Brno (PBB) to really help encourage entrepreneurial environment in the framework of the Czech agrarian sector and become a place for fair business.

Speaking before some 150 participants in the first PBB's gathering in Brno today, Lux said that the exchange was a non-profit legal entity.

Lux stressed that potential profits created on the exchange should not be distributed among individual participating entities but serve the exchange's development.

He said that it is only natural that the exchange is located in the center of the South Moravian region which is undoubtedly the most intense area of agricultural production in the Czech Republic.

He also called the attention to the undisputed role of the excellent technical and social background that the exchange provides in the framework of the Brno exhibition grounds where it is located.

Lux expressed the conviction that regional differences between supply and demand will gradually level off and the exchange will contribute to price balance and stabilisation during the exchange's intense functioning.

Lux made a short overwiew of the history of commodity exchanges on the Czech Republic's territory. He recalled that the commodity exchange in Prague started activities on November 11, 1894. The government and state representatives decided on July 31, 1952, to take charge themselves as the best administrators of the entrepreneurial environment and its organisation in the name of the people, themselves as a state.

We have arrived at the knowledge that the state is not the best entrepreneur and administrator and therefore support activities in the opposite direction, that is, handing over the entrepreneurial environment to those who know how to manage it, can fill it and duly use to the benefit of all, Lux concluded.

CSSD Rejects Coalition With SDL

LD2906140093 Prague CTK in English 1234 GMT 29 Jun 93

[Text] Prague, June 29 (CTK)—The leader of the Czech Social Democratic Party (CSSD), Milos Zeman, rejected today any suggestion that it might merge with the just-formed Democratic Left Party (SDL).

He would consider the possibility of individual ex-communists entering his party as long as they have changed their communist convictions, now support Social Democratic ideals and have clean hands, he said.

He added that it was necessary to wait for further developments in the SDL, which was announced by reformists from the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSCM) after its 3rd congress Saturday.

Zeman said that the SDL may simply be an attempt to form a new Communist Party, trying to reform something Zeman called unreformable. On the other hand, it may really be a Social Democratic party, similar to that led by Peter Weiss in Slovakia. Then there would be room for only one such party...the CSSD, said Zeman. The CSSD has 16 of 200 seats in the Chamber of Deputies.

Foreign Minister Visits Singapore

WA3006161293

For reportage on the visit by Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec to Singapore, including reports on his talks with Singapore Foreign Minister Wong Kan Seng and Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong, please see the Singapore section of the 29 June East Asia DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Prime Minister Meciar Discusses Minority Issues

AU2906124993 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 24 Jun 93 p 8

[Interview with Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar, by Dorin Suciu, in Bratislava in June 1993: "We Wish To Get Closer of Romania"]

[Text] [Suciu] Both Slovak and Romanian diplomacy demonstrated a lot of flexibility and mobility in the period that followed the proclamation of the Slovak state. What are the prospects for the development of Romanian-Slovak relations?

[Meciar] From a historical point of view, Slovak-Romanian relations have always been good. We do not have any controversial issues. As far as the bilateral relations are concerned, we should proceed from the current stage. First of all, we have to try and solve the problems connected with the postcommunist developments. We should proceed to an exchange of experience on the basis of various processes that are taking place in our countries.

Another important area that I am thinking of is our position toward the European integration issue. Both Romania and Slovakia have the ambition of becoming members of the European Community. The policy promoted in connection with ethnic minorities is also important for us, because the problem of the Hungarian minority is a common problem for both Slovakia and Romania.

[Suciu] Romania, Slovakia, and the neighboring countries are all situated in a troubled area of ethnic conflicts and the relations between countries are far from being good. What can be done in the future to improve the political stability in this part of Europe?

[Meciar] Certainly, the evolution of the situation reached a crossroads and there are two possible variations. One is that which we are trying to follow and which is in accordance with the European standards, namely to gradually decrease the importance of modifying borders, reduce ethnic differences, and ensure respect for civic rights. There is also another variation, which in no way is acceptable to us, namely to question current borders, and the tendency to create ethnic barriers among people, a variation that, throughout history, has never led to positive results.

[Suciu] Are you pleased with the situation of the Slovak minority in Romania?

[Meciar] Certainly, I suppose that I will meet with representatives of the Slovak minority in Romania. There are certain areas and regions in which they still need assistance from us. For quite a while they were completely neglected by the old regime. We help them in those areas that we can, but on the other hand, I was informed by Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu about the policy promoted by Romania toward ethnic minorities and about its prospects, and that is a policy that we fully support. (...) We have a sincere interest in getting Slovakia closer to Romania, to get the citizens of both countries closer to each other, in order to create increasingly stronger forms of cooperation in all areas.

Comments on Economic Reform

AU2906132193 Bratislava REPUBLIKA in Slovak 24 Jun 93 pp 1, 2

[TA SR report: "Slovakia on Its Own"]

[Text] Bratislava—The progress of the economic reform to date provided data facilitating realistic ideas regarding its future development. Prime Minister Meciar made this statement yesterday at a seminar on the implementation of the economic reform in Slovakia that was organized by the Union of Employers in the Trade and Tourism in the Slovak Republic. The seminar was attended by Finance Minister Julius Toth and representatives of Slovak and foreign financial circles.

Vladimir Meciar pointed out the diversity in the implementation of the economic reform in the former CSFR. Its actual development confirmed that the market is not the phenomenon in which salvation alone is to be found, and the necessity of the state intervention in these processes, during the period of transition, to prevent their getting out of control. As he stated, the rise of the independent Slovakia made the recognition of its own management abilities possible, for the Slovak financial and product markets have never been adequately assessed before.

Meciar described the recognition that the reform cannot be perceived only as a process of the change of an economic system but requires the transformation of all social relations as important. "There can be no successful businessman if the conditions necessary for free enterprise are not created," he said in this respect.

The transition from the restrictive to a neutral monetary policy means that the government will endeavor for a balanced flow of money, balanced resources, an inflation control, and support for development stimuli, Meciar said. If Slovakia is to get out of the current situation and reach its objective, the orientation towards the European integration, it must adjust its entire future development to this goal.

Regarding the future steps of the economic reform, he described the stabilization of the state budget as inevitable. The situation is currently improving, and the state-budget revenues have reached 12.4 billion [Slovak korunas] per month. Nevertheless, a certain deficit is expected, as agreed upon with the IMF, as within the internationally accepted limits. "This limit must not be surpassed," the prime minister emphasized.

According to him, the new taxation system acts as a general stimulant. It is not, however, harmonized for all production and interest groups, and the dissatisfaction

of small businesses is justified. Interventions are necessary that would, in some instances, adjust the rates of taxation.

Welcomes Admission to CE

LD3006215793 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1930 GMT 30 Jun 93

[Text] Slovakia's admission to the Council of Europe [CE] is a success for the council's member states and for the independent Slovak Republic. This is what Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar told a correspondent of the Slovak Republic Press Agency. He noted that this step is also a direct consequence of the fact that our country's constitutional and legal affairs have been set up in a way which makes them compatible with European standards.

Vladimir Meciar also pointed out that our membership in the CE entitles us not only to rights, but also to duties. Slovakia accepts all conventions designed to protect democracy, human rights and freedoms, minorities' rights, and the system of interstate relations.

The prime minister went on to assure that the Slovak Republic will accept the recommendations made by the CE and that it will deal with them with all earnestness.

The prime minister, however, regards the recommendations concerning Benes' decrees as difficult. Vladimir Meciar stressed that Slovakia does not wish to question the decisions of the CE, but by completely rehabilitating everything which the decrees abolished, we would in fact admit that the laws, whose nature was beyond all doubt fascist, were valid.

Foreign Language Education Statistics Reported

AU3006142493 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 29 Jun 93 p 13

[TA SR report: "Most of Minorities in Two Districts"]

[Text] Bratislava—A total of 10 percent of 6,331 state-run kindergartens, basic, and secondary schools in Slovakia provide training in something other than the Slovak language. There are 633 schools in which children are being educated in the Hungarian or Ukrainian language. Apart from that, in the Slovak Republic there are 188 mixed schools, in which two mother tongues are being taught. There are classes in both the Slovak and Hungarian or Ukrainian language. This ensues from an analysis conducted by the Institute for Information on and Prognosis About the Education System, Youth, and Physical Training in Bratislava.

In state-run kindergartens, basic, and secondary schools, a total of 1,045,493 pupils are being trained. Of these, 89.4 percent are of Slovak origin, 8.81 percent are Hungarians, 1.06 percent are Romanies, .35 percent are Czechs, and .30 percent are Ruthenians and Ukrainians.

In mixed regions of the Slovak Republic, where the Hungarian minority lives, only two districts have more than 50 percent of pupils who are of other nationality than Slovak. They are, Dunajska Streda, where 86.4 percent of school attendants are of Hungarian nationality, and Komarno, with 69.8 percent of pupils of Hungarian origin. The Romany minority in mixed regions is usually instructed in the Hungarian language. In Kosice, at the Conservatory, Romany pupils are studying musical-and-dramatic art in the Romany language.

Jeszenszky on Slovakia's Admission to CE

LD0107100993 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0400 GMT 1 Jul 93

[Text] Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky explained Hungary's stand on Slovakia's Council of Europe [CE] membership at a news briefing yesterday. Miklos Lengyel reports:

[Lengyel] Geza Jeszenszky gave a very favorable assessment of the resolutions of the Council of Europe, which urge Slovakia to observe the rights of national minorities.

[Begin Jeszenszky recording] The Hungarian Government considers these resolutions to be very important, resolutions and recommendations which set a precedent. We believe that their formulation means that certain tasks have been set, and not only for Slovakia. These resolutions will help not only future applicants, but indicate in general terms the dangers which are inherent and manifest themselves primarily in central and eastern Europe in the situation of the minorities living there; they also point out the guidelines according to which these issues must be resolved. [end recording]

I then asked the foreign minister if the Council of Europe will wish to take the same path in connection with Romania, or does Hungarian diplomacy have other concepts? This is what Geza Jeszenszky said.

[Begin Jeszenszky recording] Well, our position, our stand of principle is the same as in connection with Slovakia, that is, Hungary supports Romania's admission. At the same time it considers it necessary to guarantee the minority rights to which we called attention in the case of Slovakia as well. I believe attention will be directed to these rights. [end recording]

Foreign Ministry Statement

LD3006202893 Budapest MTI in English 1806 GMT 30 Jun 93

[Text] Budapest, June 30 (MTI)—The Hungarian Government did not and does not aim to isolate Slovakia and obstruct its European integration. Consequently, it highly regards cooperation in both bilateral frameworks and international organizations, subregional, regional and broader structures, the Hungarian Foreign Ministry said in a statement sent to MTI on Wednesday evening.

The objective of Hungary's policy is to support democratization and stabilization processes in post-communist countries and promote the European integration of this region as a whole. For this reason, Hungary considers it vital for Slovakia as well as the other central and eastern European countries to gradually meet the moral, political and human rights norms which have been directive in the European unification process over the past decades.

The statement says that over the past three years, due in no small measure to Hungary's efforts, the issue of human rights has been expanded by a new dimension, the question of national and ethnic minority rights. The Hungarian Government does not regard these rights as the internal affair of a country, and feels it important to create an international legal codification and control mechanism.

The Council of Europe [CE] is one of the international organizations which have set human rights control mechanisms up to the highest levels, and the Hungarian Government's aim is for these to be extended to cover ethnic and national minority affairs as well. It follows that Hungary attaches prime importance to increased attention focussed on this viewpoint upon admission of new member states, and to the continual monitoring by the Council of Europe on the activity of members in the solution to these questions and, if necessary, its assistance in settling them.

Under the Hungarian Government's position, the new Council of Europe member states should provide guarantees for enforcement of minority rights, possibly even before they become full members. Unfortunately, this did not occur in the case of Slovakia.

The statement recalls that over the past few months the Hungarian parties in Slovakia informed the international public in several documents that the situation of ethnic Hungarians in Slovakia was burdened by a number of unsettled problems.

The Hungarian diplomacy has repeatedly called the attention of its Slovak partners and other European partner states to the need for settling these problems. It has also expressed dissatisfaction over the slow process or absence of legislation concerning minority rights. All this prompted the Hungarian Government to express within the Council of Europe that it did not consider the actions sufficient and convincing that were taken by the Slovak Government and parliament to meet the CE's recommendations regarding minority rights.

In the Hungarian view, with the immediate admission of Slovakia the CE Parliamentary Assembly has assumed a greater responsibility than it previously had.

On this basis, the Hungarian Government feels entitled to follow Slovak legislation, and, if required, draw it to the attention of the CE member states.

With its moderate approach, including the Hungarian delegation's abstention from vetoing Slovakia's admission, the Hungarian Government has proven again that it always pursues a constructive, compromise-seeking policy and, at the same time, takes a resolute stand in defending the interests of Hungary and the minorities, and against the phenomena endangering the security of the region. All this complies with its endeavour for integration into Europe, the statement says.

EFTA Agreement Not To Take Effect on 1 July

LD3006204393 Budapest MTI in English 1733 GMT 30 Jun 93

[Text] Budapest, June 30 (MTI)—Despite expectations, the free trade agreement Hungary concluded with the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) and the related bilateral agricultural protocols will not take effect on July 1, a Ministry of International Economic Relations official told MTI on Wednesday.

The delay is caused by the fact that, despite their assumed obligation, some EFTA member states, including Austria, have not yet ratified the Agreement. The Hungarian Parliament ratified it on June 1 with one vote against and one abstention. In July, the contracting parties are expected to consult on a new date for the agreement to come into force.

Under the agreement signed in Geneva this year, 85 per cent of Hungarian industrial exports may freely enter the markets of seven EFTA member states.

Aware of the difficulties accompanying Hungary's switchover to a market economy, the agreement guarantees a ten-year period of transition for the country.

Under the agreement, trade between Hungary and the EFTA states will be entirely liberalized by 2003. At present, the EFTA countries account for 15 per cent of Hungarian exports, and 21 per cent of Hungarian imports.

Since EFTA, unlike the European Community, has not developed a common agricultural policy, the issue of agrarian trade had to be settled through bilateral agreements. This was the cause of the two-year protraction in talks. In the case of other East European countries, these problems were more easily settled, enabling EFTA to conclude free trade agreements with Poland, the former Czechoslovakia and Romania at an earlier date. The agreements with Bulgaria and Hungary were signed simultaneously on March 29, 1993.

Yet before that date, Hungary had initialled bilateral agreements on agrarian trade with six of the seven member states - Norway, Finland, Sweden, Switzerland, Iceland and Liechtenstein.

The longest talks were held with the seventh member state, Austria. The Hungarian side sought an agreement on the increase of agrarian sales to Austria by 30 per cent in three years. This issue and the reduction of customs duties were subjects of debate until the end. In a move to reach a compromise, both sides made concessions: Hungary accepted more liberal rules for direct importation of Austrian baked goods and confectionary products, and beer and alcohol-free drinks, while Austria lifted quantitative restrictions on Hungarian goose, duck and salami.

As for the trade of manufactured goods, Hungary and EFTA reached an agreement in 1992. Debates focussed on the measures aimed at protecting the Hungarian industry and on the trade of fish and processed food. In these fields, Hungary insisted on terms identical with the provision of the association agreement concluded with the European Community.

Government To Support Farmers With Advances

LD2906164993 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1000 GMT 29 Jun 93

[Text] [Announcer] Today is the day of St. Peter and Paul. On this traditional day, which marks the commencement of harvesting, we learned that the government intends to allocate 2.5 billion forints [Ft] as advance payments for grain producers. The question of how they will receive this was discussed at the session of the national board of grain producers, from where Andras Takacs reports.

[Takacs] The Ministry of Agriculture will pay an advance of Ft4,000 to all producers per metric ton of good-quality wheat for human consumption. At today's session of the national board of grain producers, Mrs. Sandor (?Jele), adviser in the ministry, said: The grain will remain the property of the producers. The advance payment can be regarded as being free of interest. If the producer does not repay the debt by 31 October, he will receive a further Ft3,000, but the grain will become the property of the state.

The advance of Ft4,000 will be paid out within eight days of the grain being stored. The ministry is allocating Ft2.5 billion for this action. As the representative of the ministry said: The objective is not for the producers to sell the wheat to the state, because it is expected that more than Ft8,000 can be obtained on the market for one ton of grain.

The ministry hopes that the legal regulation concerning the advance payment and purchase will appear in the Friday issue of MAGYAR KOEZLOENY [Hungarian gazette which publishes legal provisions].

Statistical Office Publishes Economic Data

AU2906112993 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 26 Jun 93 pp 1, 11

[Correspondent's report: "Latest Central Statistical Office Data: Considerable Drop in Exports"]

[Text] The Central Statistical Office recently published its report on main economic data. The best news is that the drop in industrial performance has stopped and, albeit slowly, growth has started again. This means that production increased by 0.3 percent in the first four months of 1993, compared with the same period in 1992. The other promising development is the decrease in unemployment that has been taking place continually for

a few months. Some 12.7 percent of the active population was unemployed in April, and this means a modest decrease compared with 12.9 percent in March and 13.1 percent in February.

The good news, however, ends here. The considerable drop in Hungarian exports is one of the most alarming economic phenomena. According to preliminary data compiled by the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, exports in the first quarter of 1993 stood at 211.9 billion forints, more than 50 billion forints less than in the same period last year. At the same time, imports grew and, thus, our foreign trade deficit became considerably larger. According to customs statistics, this deficit stood at $1,072 million, or more than 90 billion forints. The drop in agricultural production played a considerable role in this deficit. Foreign trade firms often complain about shortages of goods, mainly regarding the eastern markets. The depth of the crisis can be seen from the fact that the procurement of agricultural products fell by 35 percent compared with the same period last year.

Financial data do not show the expected development either. The consumer price index in May was 21.2 percent on an annual level and it was higher than the April index by 0.4 percent. Food prices increased the most. The reason for this is the drop in agricultural production as well as the increase in the general turnover tax.

It is also worth mentioning that savings made by the population exceeded 723 billion forints in April. This growth is smaller than earlier, mainly because of a drop in interest rates. An interesting development is that the amount placed in saving accounts mainly stagnated, while stocks increased.

Average Monthly Wages Increase

LD0107152893 Budapest MTI in English 1326 GMT 1 Jul 93

[Text] Budapest, July 1 (MTI)—The average gross monthly wage in companies with a workforce of more than 20 was Huf [Hungarian forints] 27,988 in May, 31.8 per cent up on the same month last year, according to the Central Statistical Office (CSO).

The average monthly income for manual workers was Huf 21,523 (up 28.8 per cent) and for white-collar workers Huf 42,640 (up 33.2 per cent).

The CSO said there was a large increase in salaries in April which continued into May. The increase was mainly in the mining sector and chemical industry and was related to back payments of wage increases as well as to payment of premiums and bonuses.

The average gross monthly income for January to May was Huf 25,052, up 22.5 per cent on the same period last year, while the average net monthly income was Huf 17,216, up 18.3 per cent.

However, with a rise of 23.6 per cent in consumer prices, real wages fell by 5.3 per cent.

Iraqi Protest Held Outside U.S. Embassy

LD0107124493 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1200 GMT 1 Jul 93

[Text] [Studio announcer] An hour ago a group of Iraqis staged a demonstration in front of the U.S. Embassy in Warsaw.

[Unidentified reporter] The demonstrators, mainly students from Iraq, protested against the recent U.S. attack against Baghdad. Let me remind you that as a result of the U.S. missile attack aimed at the intelligence center in Baghdad, several civilians were killed.

About 30 to 40 people, mainly Iraqi citizens, took part in the demonstration. They were carrying banners with signs in Polish, English, and Arabic saying: Stop U.S. aggression against Baghdad; Cruise missiles have killed children, women, and old people; Stop U.S. state terrorism. There were also portraits of Saddam Husayn. Leaflets being distributed among passersby mentioned cowardly aggression, criminal politics aimed against the Iraqi nation, and spoke about the wish to take over the resources of that region by the United States and its agents.

The demonstration was peaceful. Police, who were there to ensure order, did not intervene.

Suchocka Discusses Elections, Reform Bloc

AU2906164493 Poznan WPROST in Polish 20 Jun 93 pp 13, 14

[Interview with Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka by Marek Zieleniewski; place and date not given: "Fifth Republic?"]

[Text] [Zieleniewski] What is your assessment of the president's initiative concerning the formation of the Non-Party Bloc in Support of Reforms [BBWR], which is to bring together trade unionists from the "Network" and businessmen?

[Suchocka] The president has on more than one occasion said that he would like to form a proreform group around him and that he will seek the support of various communities not formally linked to definite political groupings. I think that the BBWR is an attempt to realize that.

[Zieleniewski] You have been compared to Margaret Thatcher. In view of the president's increasing political activity, his—perhaps it will be that shortly—predominant position on the Polish scene, perhaps you will be more often compared to Kazimierz Bartel, who was nominated prime minister five times between 1926-30.

[Suchocka] Calling me the "Polish Margaret Thatcher" is flattering, but the comparison contains too much of a simplification. The circumstances under which our Parliament operates, the party system, and our relations between the prime minister and the head of state are entirely different from British conditions and traditions. However, if we are to draw historical analogies, it is not at all certain that the relations between the chairman of the Council of Ministers and the president in contemporary Poland will be a replica of those that existed in the Second Republic. Whether the situation will be like that in the French Fifth Republic will be determined by the future Sejm when comes to pass the constitution.

[Zieleniewski] The events of the past few weeks show that building a free market economy is impossible without a marked reduction in the role of trade unions in the state. Do you agree with that?

[Suchocka] Our legislation still views trade unions from the angle of the final period of real socialism, when there was no multiparty system, when unions performed the function of an independent quasi-political party. I fear that the declarations and actions of trade unions in recent weeks will shortly bring the question of the legal framework surrounding trade union activity into stark relief.

[Zieleniewski] The elections will take place—in all probability—when public dissatisfaction reaches a peak as a result of the effects of the introduction of the value-added tax and another round of increases in prices of energy and rents. First, in light of that, will the parties forming the coalition government not be on the losing side in the election campaign competition? Second, would you consider changing the date of the elections?

[Suchocka] The presidential decree has already been published. Changing the date of the elections would be an act of an extraordinary kind. I do not think that anything extraordinary in this regard will occur before 19 September.

It is however a fact that the negative effects of certain economic actions—ones independent of the will government as they stemmed from the implementation of an economic plan that was approved earlier—will accumulate during the elections. So what one hears in some opposition quarters is untrue, namely, that the government is in a comfortable position, because in the absence of a Parliament, it can pursue an unfettered election campaign. In fact, the opposite is true, at the start of campaigning the governing parties are in a much worse position than the opposition. In fact, the opprobrium of social frustration may well descend on them. However, that does not mean that we will already be defeated in the elimination race. The elections will be held in three months time.

[Zieleniewski] Poland is threatened with further strikes, including a general strike. Will the police and Office for the Protection of the State act as resolutely—as Minister Milczanowski has it—or also as brutally—as the opposition has it—as they did on 4 June in Warsaw?

[Suchocka] I have asked the minister of internal affairs to prepare a detailed report on how the police acted on

that day and I have also held consultations on the issue with the justice minister. I believe and I always stress this most strongly that there must be freedom of speech in Poland, that citizens must be free to express their views, there must be freedom of expression. However, that freedom must also lie within the law and must be accompanied by responsibility. The public slandering of the highest authorities of the state amounts to lawlessness. If such acts of lawlessness do not occur in the future, there will also be need to deploy police units.

[Zieleniewski] How do you rate the election chances of the parties making up the coalition government, especially the Democratic Union and the Liberal-Democratic Congress? How will these groupings be able to obtain support, mobilize the electorate, in a situation in which, on the one hand, there is a noisy campaign based on promises and, on the other hand, the presidential block, which was hurriedly formed, is gaining in influence?

[Suchocka] Our democracy is still young and lacking in maturity, voters preferences change very rapidly. In Western countries, candidates for Parliament fight for votes above all in so-called marginal districts, they try to win the support of individuals who are undecided, whose votes may the tip the scales toward victory. This year's elections in Poland are a great unknown. Our public opinion, our electorate is susceptible to both rational argument and extreme demagogy. I believe that rational, convincing arguments and those who want to listen to them are in the majority.

Walesa Supports Slovakia's Admission to CE

LD3006203893 Prague CTK in English 1746 GMT 30 Jun 93

[Text] Warsaw, June 30 (CTK)—Polish President Lech Walesa sent a letter to Hungarian President Arpad Goncz on Friday in which he backed Slovakia's admission to the Council of Europe (CE), Walesa's press office confirmed to CTK today.

The letter, in which the Polish president also said it was desirable for both successor states to the former Czechoslovakia be part of the CE, was an expression of the importance which Poland attaches to cooperation between the countries of the Visegrad group (Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic and Slovakia), the press office said.

On his recent visit to Poland, Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus had declared Hungarian reservations towards Slovakia's admission as very surprising and disturbing, and making no contribution towards good relations in the region. Klaus asked Polish heads to communicate this opinion to Budapest.

Minister Views Impact of Election on Military

AU2806103293 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 22 Jun 93 p 2

[Interview with Defense Minister Janusz Onyszkiewicz by Luiza Kowalska and Piotr Zaremba; place and date not given: "Why Should Every Directive I Issue Be Considered an Element of the Election Campaign?"]

[Text] [ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Why did you react so harshly to the meeting between General Staff officers and Confederation of Independent Poland leader Leszek Moczulski?

[Onyszkiewicz] It is not whom they met that matters, but the fact that this meeting violated the election code ban on waging election campaigns inside Defense Ministry facilities. I assume the participants in this meeting were unaware of the new legal situation. That is why I have just issued guidelines that precisely cover situations like this. Even so, all's well that ends well. This meeting served as an opportunity to highlight the problem of the military's attitude to the elections.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Did you never hear of previous meetings of this kind with Bujak, Szczypiorski, and Skubiszewski? POLSKA ZBROJNA reported on them.

[Onyszkiewicz] No, I did not. In any case, a meeting with a minister is one thing, but a meeting with the leader of a prominent party, and during an election campaign, is quite another. The Army must be apolitical. Soldiers will express their attitudes toward particular parties by casting their votes in the elections.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] But did you, yourself, not initiate an election campaign inside the Army by issuing the instruction in question in the first place?

[Onyszkiewicz] Why should every single directive I issue be considered an element of the election campaign? Certain types of contact between politicians and military men are quite normal. For example, soldiers meet members of the Sejm National Defense Committee. It is the purpose of these meetings that matters. Soldiers should use them in order to present their problems to the politicians. The politicians should not use them to try and win the votes of the soldiers. Opinion polls indicate that the Army has exactly the kind of influence on public affairs that it should have. That pleases me.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Did you object to meetings like this just because of the election campaign? We know that, during the officers' meeting with Moczulski, both sides criticized the pace of the reforms within the Army, reforms for which both you and the Democratic Union, to which you have close links, are responsible. Would you accept this kind of military involvement in politics in the future?

[Onyszkiewicz] Officers can express their political views in various ways. I do not think such a direct form of

contact between political parties and military cadres conforms to the principles that enshrine the Army's apolitical status.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] You speak of the Army's apolitical status, and yet inside the Army there are various organizations. On the one hand there is Viritim, which calls for the decommunization of the Army and is sympathetic toward the Movement for the Republic. On the other hand there is the recently set up presidential association. Can officers not influence the path of reforms in the Army by means of their normal military service?

[Onyszkiewicz] Perhaps normal military service is not enough for some officers. Right now, I know of no officer who has admitted to being active in Viritim. As for the new presidential association, I have not encountered any activity by it so far. But if I did notice one or the other organization waging any activity, I would insist that the officers acting therein declare their intentions—either that they serve in the Army or they indulge in political activity.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] You said you want to protect the Army from political electioneering. Recently you suggested to the Sejm and Senate speaker that they convey the Army pensions bill directly to the president, bypassing both the Sejm and the Senate. By suggesting such an idea, which is in conflict with the Constitution, did you not want to make yourself more popular?

[Onyszkiewicz] The matter is not straightforward. The Constitution also permits the passing of a law without the Senate's approval, if the Senate fails to take a stance on it within 30 days of receiving it. In this particular case, the Senate did fail to adopt a stance for the simple reason that it was dissolved before it had a chance to do so. I merely wanted to check whether it was possible to interpret this rather ambiguous situation to the advantage of Army pensioners.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] But by doing so, did you not try to gain popularity?

[Onyszkiewicz] Anybody in the government who reaches a good decision can be accused of doing that.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] But your suggestion has been written off as legally inadmissible. In that case, how does the Defense Ministry intend to solve the problem of the old portfolio of military pensions?

[Onyszkiewicz] It can be solved by means of benefits or advance payments to pensioners who are linked to the old portfolio. Paradoxical as it may seem, there is enough money for this in the budget. We are seeking the right legal solutions.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Romuald Szeremetiew claims that your dispute with the officers is a result of the catastrophic organization of the Armed Forces and its division into a military section, linked to the chief of the General Staff, and a civilian section, linked directly to you. This change was introduced almost one year ago. Has it proved successful?

[Onyszkiewicz] This division was necessary because the ministry was completely military before, and the minister was also commander in chief. My predecessor began to transfer his powers to the chief of staff, but it was also necessary to find something for the civilian part to be responsible for, otherwise a civilian minister of defense would have been completely impotent. This conforms to the traditions in western countries, where training and command are in military hands, and everything else is in civilian hands.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] But does this not lead to misunderstandings? For instance, civilian officials inside the Department of Education and Upbringing are not the supervisors of unit commanders.

[Onyszkiewicz] No, but certain decisions they make must be carried out. Fewer and fewer matters are being settled by means of military orders, and more and more by means of directives.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] But two separate streams cause a duplication of certain structures. There is a civilian Department of Education and Upbringing, and there is a similar cell in the military section. Bureaucratic duplication like that should be avoided when there is a tight budget, and the Army is well known for its extravagant use of funds.

[Onyszkiewicz] The Army has always been accused of that, and indeed it is worth taking a closer look at its spending. But the latest reforms have reduced the number of posts, and although many structures in the civilian and military sections seem similar at first glance, in fact they have different responsibilities.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Do you not feel that the chief of the General Staff is not completely subordinated to you? The fact that the president has appointed him not on your recommendation, but merely after "consulting" you, suggests that he is suspended between the Belvedere and the Defense Ministry.

[Onyszkiewicz] Indeed, that is the procedure laid down by the Small Constitution. Before, the chief of staff was appointed by the president on the minister's recommendation. I was in favor of the new procedure because I believed the Army required an element of stability in the form of the president. But the Polish defense minister has a lot of power over the Army, and has the right of complete control over the General Staff.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] You talk of the letter of the law, but among politicians and the Army, especially among certain parts of the Army, e.g. the special services, there is a general opinion that the president is in charge. Even Democratic Union politicians have complained about your subservience toward the Belvedere.

[Onyszkiewicz] That is nonsense. No Union politician has complained of me about that. Of course, I brief the president on my own activity, and the Military Information Services provide the president with information and their assessment of situations. After all, the president is responsible for state security. But I do not recall the Belvedere ever accusing me of anything.

On the other hand, I disagree with the situation enshrined in the prewar April Constitution whereby the Army was subordinated to the president, and the Defense Ministry was merely an institution serving the Army's needs. In such a situation, the president would have to establish another ministry, otherwise his great powers would be pure fiction. Such a system would eliminate parliamentary control over the Army. No democratic state has a system like that.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] The dissolution of the Sejm has put a stop to work on the decommunization law. You were opposed to a more stringent decommunization, especially a decommunization of the Army. Do you now think that normal personnel rotation is sufficient to clean up the Army's ranks, or would you be more inclined toward some extraordinary form of personnel review?

[Onyszkiewicz] Perhaps this law should apply to former Military Information officers before 1956, or military prosecutors of that period. But that would be merely symbolic, because there are no people like that left in the Army. The implementation of more radical decommunization measures could be interpreted as the application of collective responsibility. That would be unfair, and would hinder the Army's normal functioning.

Arendarski Receives Kuwaiti Commerce Minister

LD2906163393 Warsaw PAP in English 1444 GMT 29 Jun 93

[Text] Warsaw, June 29—Minister for Foreign Economic Relations Andrzej Arendarski and Kuwaiti Minister of Commerce and Industry 'Abdallah al-Hajiri discussed Polish-Kuwaiti economic cooperation in Warsaw on Tuesday.

According to Minister Al-Hajiri the Kuwaiti parliament will soon consider the ratification of an agreement with Poland on mutual support and protection of investments. An agreement on avoiding double taxation is under preparation. Kuwait is also ready to allow Polish firms to take part in the process of the country's reconstruction, in the development of its petrochemical industry and in environmental protection measures.

Poland presented concrete proposals related to Kuwait's potential participation in the restructuring of the Polish oil industry and the possibility of Kuwait buying shares in the prospective Polish oil company.

Polish exports to Kuwait, mainly food, textiles, steel, electroengineering and chemical products amounted to 30 million USd in 1992.

Solidarity Leader Says Congress Successful

LD2806143893 Warsaw PAP in English 1330 GMT 28 Jun 93

[Text] Zielona Gora, June 28—Leader of the Solidarity Trade Union Marian Krzaklewski said on Sunday Night that the union's congress was "successful" and "fulfilled all programmatic tasks assigned to it earlier."

Speaking to journalists after the conclusion of the congress, Krzaklewski said: "We have prepared decisions concerning the parliamentary elections, the union's statutes, many specific resolutions relating to the economic and social policy." He admitted that there were dramatic moments during the congress and a painful moment of confrontation but the union "came out of it with dignity sanctioned by democratic rules."

The Solidarity leader expressed hope for further cooperation with the president in solving Poland's problems. Krzaklewski said he did not understand Walesa's Sunday TV statement in which he said that his "road and that of solidarity are parting." The president has always repeated that there were no parting roads and that dialogue is above everything else, Krzaklewski stressed.

We are counting that the president will take decisions on the matters raised at the congress in the coming months, irrespective of whether he is temporarily angry with the union or not, Krzaklewski added. He stated that the president should reflect on the fact that the congress refused to examine motions critically evaluating his performance as the president.

'Solidarity 80' To Form Link With PSL

AU3006085493 Warsaw PAP in English 2156 GMT 29 Jun 93

[Text] Warsaw, June 29—On a successive day of preelection negotiations aimed to form electoral alliances, the "Solidarity-80" trade union decided to enter an election coalition with the Polish Peasant Party (PSL) and run in the elections on the party's lists.

The decision was taken by the union's National Commission that met in the north-western city of Szczecin and, as leader of the union Marian Jurczyk said, it was influenced by the clear similarity of the PSL programme to the union's goals. According to Jurczyk, the main aims of the union include a fight for the interests of the working class, combating unemployment, and eliminating poverty.

The union's National Commission set up a National Electoral Committee headed by Jurczyk who, however, is not going to stand in the elections.

The PSL leader Waldemar Pawlak, addressing miners of the "Makoszowy" colliery in Zabrze, Silesia, grouped in "Solidarity-80," said that his party and the workers' organisations share the same goal, namely the protection of the domestic producer.

Speaking later in the day at the PSL convention in Katowice, Pawlak stressed that his party is open for those political groups and people that have been cooperating with PSL before and who do not want to use the PSL to "spring off the trampoline."

The PSL also decided to join forces with the Polish Green Party (PPZ) and put forward common candidates on the PSL electoral lists. The two groups concluded that they may have similar stands on the protection of environment and production of health food.

In another development, five organisations representing pensioners are likely soon to unite for the elections, Tadeusz Tymkowicz of the national board of one of the pensioners' parties announced. The pensioners organisations will not cooperate with parties of other character and they will not support the presidential non-party reform bloc (BBWR), either. If they win seats in the future parliament their deputies will seek to pass a new pensioners' law.

Meanwhile, Waldemar Kuczynski of the Democratic Union (UD) and former privatisation minister predicted that the future parliament would be of more leftist character with the post-communist Democratic Left Alliance (SLD), Union of Labour (UP) and PSL winning a considerable number of seats.

At his Tuesday [29 June] meeting with representatives of the convention of entrepreneurs, tradesmen and agricultural producers in Warsaw, kuczynski also said that the BBWR may gain quite a lot of votes but its cooperation with the centre-right would be out of question. The new parliament may also produce a centre-left government coalition when it turns out that it is impossible to rule without the SLD.

Radio and TV Council Chairman Interviewed

AU3006175893 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 28 Jun 93 p 2

[Interview with Marek Markiewicz, head of the National Radio and Television Council, by Joanna Stempien, place and date not given: "Poland Needs Strong Nationwide Private Television, a Counterweight To State Television"]

[Text] [Stempien] According to the statement issued by the Prosecutor-General's Office on Friday [25 June], the National Radio and Television Council supports the tough line being taken against "pirate" stations. But the press claims that it is the prosecutor-general himself, Jan Piatkowski, who wants tough sanctions against these stations. What is your view? Do you want to see the "pirates" closed down or not?

[Markiewicz] I have never supported any tough line against the "pirates." Professionally and emotionally, I feel too closely linked to television to be able to demand such a measure. However, I would like to see a consistent policy pursued. We cannot have a situation where some "pirates" are hounded while others are calmly allowed to broadcast and even granted temporary licenses. There must be a single, homogeneous state policy toward private broadcasters. Therefore the council, as a constitutional body, considers it its duty to indicate the unclear legal situation of private broadcasters, especialy as of 1 July. This has nothing to do with threatening the "pirates" with legal or administrative sanctions.

[Stempien] As of Tuesday [29 June], one will be able to collect an application form for a broadcasting license at the council's new offices in Sobieski Street. But it seems one needs to be an expert to be able to fill in the form.

[Markiewicz] No, the form is relatively straightforward compared with some foreign forms, and any potential applicant for a broadcasting license should be able to fill it in without difficulty. Even so, the council has set up an information point where assistance can be obtained. The application form consists of several parts. Most of the questions concern the applicant's personal details, his plans, and his previous activities.

[Stempien] In other words, whether or not an applicant has already been broadcasting without a license, or whether he has been waiting for a license?

[Markiewicz] Yes. The council also needs information on previous criminal, civil, or administrative convictions and penalties. This information is required by the Broadcasting Act, apart from which we want to draw a line between different types of "pirates." Apart from broadcasters who are in an ambiguous legal situation because of the delay in work on the Broadcasting Act, there are also broadcasters who are deliberately breaking the law by disregarding the rules on cinematography and copyright.

[Stempien] What determines whether or not an applicant is granted a license? People fear that an applicant's religious views are one criterion.

[Markiewicz] That is the least important criterion. The application form is so precise that there is little room for different interpretations.

[Stempien] It appears that the council has already decided on a strategy for dividing up the Polish ether. What is this strategy?

[Markiewicz] I prefer to call it a philosophy. We envisage four types of radio and television stations in Poland—local, regional, supraregioal, and national.

[Stempien] What exactly does a "national Polish television network" mean? I have noticed that the council interprets this concept in one way and private broadcasters in another.

[Markiewicz] It means that it must be receivable by at least 80 percent of the population.

[Stempien] The council has said that Poland needs a nationwide commercial television channel relayed by high-power transmitters. Why this idea?

[Markiewicz] Statements by various private broadcasters suggest that when they talk of a national program, they have in mind a combination of a dozen or so low-power stations located in large conurbations. We are not opposed to this concept. Whether it will be implemented or not remains an open question. However, such a network of stations would only be received by urban residents, and would be beyond the reach of the rural population. We, on the other hand, insist that a national network must be received by everyone, in cities and in rural areas. Only that kind of strong, private network would be in a position to compete against state television, which enjoys legal privileges. In this sense, our decision possesses political significance.

[Stempien] Does this mean that you prefer very rich firms to apply for licenses? Establishing a broadcasting network employing high-power transmitters requires a lot of money.

[Markiewicz] Our information was meant to serve as a warning that, in order to create a counterweight to state television, we will only consider serious applicants for broadcasting licenses. At the same time, we are making it clear that we have no intention of dividing up the ether. On the contrary, we want a strong broadcasting network. Of course, right now we do not know whether anyone will be interested in a strong national network. If no applicant is interested in it, or we receive no guarantees that there will be a strong national television network, then we will distribute the vacant channels in a different way.

[Stempien] Might the council let smaller, mutually cooperating firms organize the establishment of a strong national television network.

[Markiewicz] Yes. That is possible. In this way, firms interested in such a network, but not having so much money at their disposal, will not be disqualified from applying for a broadcasting license.

[Stempien] Have you any idea who will take part in the race for licenses to operate national radio and television stations?

[Markiewicz] Yes, we do have an idea, but no favorites.

Electricity, Gas Prices To Increase in July

LD3006100693 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 0400 GMT 30 Jun 93

[Text] As of 1 July prices of electricity and gas will go up by 12 percent on average in connection with the introduction of the value-added tax [VAT] four days later. Here is Finance Minister Jerzy Osiatynski:

[Begin Osiatynski recording] We were going to raise the prices of hot water and central heating by 15 percent in August. Now we are raising them by less than 5 percent above VAT. This is absolutely necessary to prevent bankruptcies of heating and power generating plants. [end recording]

[Announcer] According to the Finance Ministry, raising the prices of electricity and gas will not lead to other price rises. Let us recall that for several weeks now Solidarity has been demanding that energy prices not be raised. Here is Solidarity leader Marian Krzaklewski:

[Begin Krzaklewski recording] Combined together, the prise rises and the negative effects of VAT could lead to very serious social tension. In this connection, we are maintaining strike readiness and we are going to watch closely, day by day, the effects of the government's decisions. On the other hand—and we stress this again—the president should react and make a political and organizational decision to hold the rises before the election campaign and the elections itself. They have no economic or political justification at the moment. [end recording]

Vacaroiu on Relations With Slovakia

AU2906194293 Bratislava REPUBLIKA in Slovak 28 Jun 93 p 5

[Report on interview with Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu by Pavol Majersky; place and date not given: "The Economy and Contacts"]

[Text] "Relations between Slovakia and Romania are traditionally good. From the geographic viewpoint the two countries do not have common borders, however, the common destiny of both countries dictated that they come closer together, support one another, and maintain good relations as good neighbors," Romanian Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu said in an interview by a TA SR reporter after Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar's visit to Bucharest.

"We spoke with Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar about the security situation, particularly in southeastern Europe," N. Vacaroiu. In his opinion, the continent is ravaged by economic crisis while new state formations are being established. "The conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina can spill over the borders of former Yugoslavia and affect the surrounding countries. In Romania, this instability causes grave concern and V. Meciar understands it well," the Romanian prime minister said.

"The mutual contact between the Slovak Republic and Romania is important also for the solution to such a sensitive problem as that of ethnic minorities," N. Vacaroiu stressed. The state policy as regards ethnic minorities is defined in the articles of the Romanian Constitution, with specific steps for its implementation. The Romanian prime minister said that his country has already been through the first stage of the Hungarian parties' attacks against the Constitution, about which they stated that it did not meet international conventions and standards. "As long as there was no independent Slovakia, all the attacks regarding the suppression of rights of ethnic minorities were aimed at Romania," N. Vacaroiu said. Their intensity has subsided but continue still. "We must, similarly to Slovakia, abandon our defensive stance and give a clear response to all who doubt our solutions to ethnic minorities' rights in our country."

Romanian Prime Minister N. Vacaroiu said after the discussion with the Slovak prime minister that the visit of the government delegation in his country had an extraordinarily good response, particularly in entrepreneurial and commercial circles. He is of the opinion that both countries have the will to develop mutual relations, and therefore they decided to revise the existing treaty between Romania and the Slovak Republic. According to the new treaty, ministers of the Romanian Government will establish direct contacts with their counterparts in the Slovak cabinet.

The prime minister welcomed a meeting of presidents, which should take place by the end of August or beginning of September in Bratislava, where the heads of the two states will sign a new, basic, political treaty.

N. Vacaroiu said that he sees an upward trend in economic relations with Slovakia, which should become apparent in the second half of this year. This is why a Romanian-Slovak commission was established and received a mandate from the Romanian Government to conduct talks in the interest of specific goals of entrepreneurs and tradesmen. He said that many Romanian and Slovak firms are already trading successfully. This applies to petrochemical products, wood, and furniture. N. Vacaroiu has not ruled out the possibility that Romanian ports could become home ports for Slovak ocean-going ships.

Presidential Involvement in Fleet Sale Refuted

AU2906194593 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1700 GMT 29 Jun 93

[Text] The Romanian Presidency has faxed us the following statements issued by the president's spokesman:

In connection with certain press commentaries regarding the involvement of the president of Romania in the transactions between the company Petromin and the Greek firm Forum Maritim, the spokesman is authorized to declare the following: It is regrettable that some commentators resort to the incorrect procedure of launching unfounded accusations about certain officials, a procedure that is harmful to the appropriate unfolding of the mandate of the respective official and misleads the public.

Romania's president has not been consulted and was in no way involved in this transaction and it is not even part of his duties to deal with such problems. However, given the seriousness of the accusations and of the elements noted by the press, which question the correctness of this business and reveal its harmful consequences for Romania's interests, the president has asked the government to investigate the conditions under which the respective contract with the Forum Maritim was concluded and clarify to the very end the situation both of the Petromin fleet and of the rest of the Romanian commercial fleet.

The president welcomes the decision of the Parliament's Investigation Commission, in agreement with the prime minister, that a group of experts, on the basis of commercial contracts, should re-examine together with the Investigation Commission the entire contract and should inform the government and the parliament about their conclusions.

On this basis, it would also be desirable to examine the other navigation companies as well as the situation of the entire commercial fleet of our country, says the declaration of the Romanian Presidency's spokesman.

Vacaroiu Comments on Issue

AU3006172793

[Editorial Report] Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian at 1215 GMT on 30 June carries a live relay from Bucharest's Victoria Hall of a news conference given by Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu.

At 1218 GMT Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu makes an introductory statement. He refers to the harvesting campaign, irrigation measures, and other agricultural issues. He continues by discussing wheat and other prices. He then refers to energy questions, particularly the Cernavoda nuclear power station, which is still under construction, saying that "we have to import a certain amount of heavy water to resume operations at unit No. 1." He also says that "we also have another problem there because, in building this plant, we had to evacuate a village called Falinga, which was moved to another area in the Simian Valley. But after the revolution many citizens who had built houses in the Simian Valley moved back near the plant. The problem is that we need an area of 1.5 kilometers as a protection zone and practically no homes can be built in that area."

He briefly mentions the difficulties encountered by the Drobeta-Turnu Severin heavy water plant, without giving any details. In this context, he says that "as far as the problem of Drobeta-Turnu Severin is concerned, there is a group of experts there and they will examine the situation in detail regarding environmental protection, machine-building, and other areas."

After discussing wage and pension issues, Vacaroiu describes the situation of the Romanian fleet, including a controversial contract concluded between the Romanian fleet and a Greek company, the repair work needed, and possible utilization of ships beyond repair—either as restaurants or for scrap metal.

Concerning allegations in the press about the president's involvement in the Romanian-Greek deal, Vacaroiu says: "The press has circulated a number of allegations, totally groundless, accusing Romania's president and the prime minister of being involved in the activity of this joint company—the Romanian shipping company Petromin and the Greek company Forum Maritime. The minister of transportation has also been accused. There have also been certain totally erroneous assessments concerning the professional competence of the minister of transportation.

"First, I would like to point out that neither Romania's president nor the prime minister have been or will be involved in negotiations, the conclusion of contracts, or any other such activity implied by the negotiations between the two companies. There are laws in Romania and therefore no prime minister can afford to telephone someone or send someone to intervene in such activity. The situation would be very grave if that were possible.

"It is true that I was involved in this business in the sense that during my visit in Greece, talking to about 200 to 300 foreign investors, I briefed them on the stage we had reached in implementing reform, and I told them about our difficulties. Our talks were quite open. I also referred to the advantages offered by Romania, after which I encouraged those foreign investors to come to Romania and invest. I think, that is a task that belongs to any prime minister of the Romanian Government.

"Of course, if there are charges against a company, such as the current ones against Petromin, the prime minister should take measures to find out to what extent the signaled irregularities are true and what corrections are necessary."

After mentioning that foreign experts are to assess the value of the Romanian fleet, Vacaroiu continues by discussing the terms foreign companies are interested in when investing in Romanian companies.

Vacaroiu also mentions the introduction of the value-added tax on 1 July, stressing that certain "painful" moves have to be made even if there are difficulties. He says that "value added tax should have been introduced in July 1992, just like the cuts in subsidies, but we kept postponing it and now it is becoming increasingly difficult." He also says that "one should not make such a great fuss about it, as if it were a great problem of Romania alone. This is only a tax that replaces another form of tax," which "is disliked by many people who own companies, boutiques, kiosks and were used to live excellently because of their profits of tens of millions of lei" and "this means very serious fiscal evasion," which must be eliminated.

After Vacaroiu concludes his 63-minute statement, Finance Minister Florin Florescu comments on the budget, the exchange rate, and indexation issues. He stresses that "the budget deficit is comparable to that of April 1993, if we exclude the perturbing factors which have emerged," and that "the budget deficit will be covered from foreign loans," which "we hope to receive in the coming period."

There then follows a question-and-answer session.

Vacaroiu fields questions on the Romanian fleet and the value-added tax, and he says that "there will be imbalances in the exchange rate."

In connection with the Petromin deal, one of the journalists accuses Vacaroiu of "naivete" and asks him why he tolerates "the violation of the law." Vacaroiu counters that "the contract clearly specifies that the Romanian fleet belongs to Romania."

Asked what "preparations have been made for the introduction of the value added tax," Vacaroiu answers that "studies have been carried out over a period of two years." To another question about the value added tax and whether it will "increase prices or not," Vacaroiu quotes price increases in various sectors, but adds that

"discussions will take place with the trade unions" to see "what corrections are needed," to counter price increases.

In answer to a question on a possible government reshuffle, Vacaroiu says that "I personally have had no discussion on the subject. I can tell you that the government team is a united" and "good team." Romania "has good people," and "if someone comes along and does a better job, I will be the first one to cede my position."

To a question about corruption and crime, Vacaroiu says that these problems "are dealt with every single day," stressing that "particularly strict measures are being taken, with a whole army of people on the alert." He agrees that more police are needed and the punishments should be harsher.

Moldova's Lucinschi, Vacaroiu Discuss Cooperation

AU3006185693 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1326 GMT 30 Jun 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 30/6/1993—"The relations between Romania and the Republic of Moldova must be intensified and the cooperation widened in all fields," said Petru Lucinschi, president of the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova, during the talks that a parliamentary delegation from the Republic of Moldova had with Romania's Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu in Bucharest on June 30.

The Romanian prime minister stressed the idea of ensuring a permanent flow of information between the two countries and the necessity of an adequate legal framework to consolidate their relations.

Petru Lucinschi opined that the direct links between the governments had to intensify and gain steadiness and efficiency. He also said that within the framework of his country's measures meant to counter the economic crisis, Romania could play an important role. Lucinschi considered that the meeting between President Ion Iliescu and President Mircea Snegur which would take place shortly could offer large cooperation prospects. Politically, Romania need that peace and stability be established on the territory of the Republic of Moldova, Petru Lucinschi said.

During the talks, a meeting between the prime ministers of the two countries was fully agreed on as well as the drawing up of a cooperation program proposed by Prime Minister Vacaroiu including concrete actions in multiple fields, full cooperation in culture, education and mutual support, a joint fund to finance these actions.

Lucinschi Meets With Iliescu

AU3006203293 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1905 GMT 30 Jun 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 30/6/1993—Romanian President Ion Iliescu received Wednesday, June 30, the parliamentary delegation of the Republic of Moldova, comprising representatives of all political options in the Chisinau Parliament, led by [Moldovan Parliament Chairman] Petru Lucinschi, currently in Romania.

The Romanian president made a statement for the press, saying that the presence of Petru Lucinschi in Bucharest is part of a concern shared by Romania and the Republic of Moldova to enlarge their direct contacts and to act as stimulating and dynamic factors in promoting the ties between the two states on the two banks of the Prut River. President Iliescu said that the present visit marked an evolution in the relations of Moldova and Romania, and so did a recent meeting in Chisinau between two delegations of Romania and Moldova, respectively. "I think that the best thing we can do now is to pass from general wishes and objectives to concrete economic, cultural, and education actions, to relations between the intelligentsia of the two countries, swaps of scholarships, and direct relations between localities and enterprises. That is, to my mind, the best way to create a framework for fruitful and useful ties for both sides, as both countries are confronted with difficult problems, especially economic ones. Together it will be easier for us to overcome all these hardships."

Petru Lucinschi, chairman of Moldova's Parliament, said that it was parliament's duty to give a legislative basis to the understandings reached by economic experts in order to strengthen, through deeds, the friendship and brotherhood ties between the two countries. Lucinschi also spoke about the international context of the relations of the Republic of Moldova with Romania, Ukraine, and Russia and about the necessity for the Republic of Moldova to adopt its new constitution and pass from a centrally-run economy to a market one.

Maintaining that the process of getting closer between Romania and the Republic of Moldova was not a single moment interrupted, in spite of assertions in the press, Romania's President Ion Iliescu said at the end of his interview with Petru Lucinschi, the head of the legislative body in Chisinau, that the recent interministerial reunion held in the capital of the Republic of Moldova "represented a decisive signal with respect to the activities of the two governments."

Referring to a coming meeting with Moldovan President Mircea Snegur, President Iliescu stated: "We will meet in July, the two foreign ministries are preparing this meeting which will probably take place in Bucharest."

In point of the brotherhood treaty with the Republic of Moldova, its drawing up will be resumed and Presidents Iliescu and Snegur will decide over the deadline for its finalization and signing.

Government Empowered To Issue Ordinances

AU2906210893 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1952 GMT 29 Jun 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 29/6/1993—The Chamber of Deputies passed with a majority of vote in its Tuesday, June 29, sitting a bill empowering the

government to issue ordinances and authorize the contracting and guaranteeing of foreign credits as well as the contracting of state loans. With a few exceptions the deputies in the opposition abstained from vote or voted against the bill. Many deputies representing the parties that do not back the current government were absent.

The law stipulates that a mandate is granted to the government to correct the state budget function of the modification in the structure of revenues and spendings, to apply measures to stimulate small- and middle-sized businesses, and measures aimed at the restructuring of public corporations and the financial-economic stimulation of economic agents, to organize the capital market, to issue fiscal and customs regulations. The legislative act mentions that the government and the national bank are commissioned to contract and guarantee during the current year foreign credits up to 1.5 billion dollars. The government is empowered to contract state loans to be covered by the public debt, of up to 500 billion lei.

Members of Control Commission Over SRI Listed

AU2906131793 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 24 Jun 93 p 4

[Simona Popescu, Crina Nedelcu, and Marcela Feraru report: "The Joint Session of Parliament Has Appointed the Members of the Parliamentary Commission Controlling SRI"]

[Text] As a result of consultations and suggestions made by leaders of the various factions in Parliament concerning the setting up of a parliamentary commission to control the activity of the SRI [Romanian Intelligence Service], it was decided that the commission should consist of five members representing the parties supporting the current government and four members belonging to the opposition.

The nine parliamentarians who have been elected as members of the mentioned commission are: Vasile Vacaru and Ilie Nica of the FDSN [Democratic National Salvation Front], Vasile Nicolae Ionescu-Galbeni of the PNTCD [National Peasant Christian-Democratic Party], Doru Viorel Ursu of the PD(FSN) [Democratic Party - National Salvation Front], Vasile Matei of the PUNR [National Romanian Unity Party], Karoly Szabo of the UDMR [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania], Gheorghe Gorun of the PAC [Civic Alliance Party], Toader Constantinescu of the PRM [Greater Romania Party], and Martin Gheorghe Lungu of the PSM [Socialist Party of Labor]. All the members of the commission, with the exception of the UDMR representative, have taken an oath.

The election of the commission chairman, Vasile Vacaru, and vice chairman, Vasile Nicolae Ionescu-Galbeni, posed no problems, but the position of the commission secretary was claimed by so many parties that his election became quite problematic. Both PUNR and PD(FSN) claimed that position, and the latter party, backed by PNTCD, warned that if the government coalition will occupy that position as well, they would renounce the deputy chairmanship. [PUNR's] Vasile Matei was then rejected by ballot. The commission members decided to hold a new round of negotiations to clear up that issue.

Foreign Media Bulletin: Balkan Crisis 1 July
WA0107153493

The following is an overview of current FBIS reporting on events in the Balkans. It supplements other FBIS reporting and consists primarily of selected summaries of longer reports. For reference purposes, serial numbers of the longer reports are provided.

SUMMARY

Muslim forces capture Croatian barracks in Mostar ... Bosnian Serbs shell Gorazde, Maglaj ... Karadzic says Bosnian Serb access to Adriatic Sea discussed at peace talks ... Detention of Serbian opposition leader Draskovic and his wife extended for two months ... Governing parties of Serbian and Montenegrin Republics to unite.

MILITARY

MUSLIMS CAPTURE MOSTAR BARRACKS (Mostar Radio, AFP): Muslim forces capture Bosnian Croat barracks and a hydroelectric power plant in Mostar. Croatian-controlled Mostar Radio blames the loss of the barracks on "treason by certain Muslims" who had been fighting on the Croatian side. An UNPROFOR spokeswoman says that UN peacekeepers withdrew from the city after Croatian forces threatened to attack them. (LD3006145193, AU0107131693)

SERBS SHELLING MUSLIM TOWNS: Sarajevo Radio reports Bosnian Serb shelling of Muslims in Gorazde and Maglaj, where citizens are "on the brink of starvation and threatened by epidemics." (AU0107094893)

POLITICAL

BOSNIAN SERBS SEEK ACCESS TO SEA (TANJUG): Bosnian Serb leader Karadzic says the Serbian and Croatian delegations at the Geneva peace talks reached a "certain agreement" to allow Bosnian Serbs access to the Adriatic Sea. Karadzic suggests that Croatia be given territory north of Dubrovnik in exchange for "access to" the Prevlaka area. Prevlaka, a Croatian peninsula that borders Montenegro, became a UN Protected Area as part of a September 1992 agreement between the FRY and Croatia after the Yugoslav Army refused to cede the local military base to Croatia. (LD3006223593)

DRASKOVIC DETENTION EXTENDED (TANJUG): Belgrade prosecutor says the detention of Serbian opposition leader Draskovic and his wife has been extended for two months and charges him with "preventing an official from performing security duties" and "being part of a group that committed violence." (LD0107113793, LD3006162193)

GOVERNING PARTIES IN SERBIA, MONTENEGRO TO UNITE (Belgrade Radio): Serbian President Milosevic's Socialist Party of Serbia announces that it will "integrate and unite" with Montenegro's governing Democratic Party of Socialists. (AU3006184893)

New Mediation Initiative Between Croats, Muslims

AU3006193193 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 30 Jun 93

[Report by Nada al-Isa from Zagreb]

[Text] A new initiative for talks between the Croats and the Muslims to halt the clashes in central Bosnia has been launched in Zagreb today. Drazen Budisa, leader of the strongest Croatian opposition party, the Croatian Social Liberal Party, (?brought it up) in an informal conversation with Mate Boban in the Croatian Parliament building. Boban said that he had nothing against it, but that he was skeptical about its success since, in his words, the Muslims only wanted a unitary Muslim state. Budisa asked him what would happen with the Vance-Owen plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Boban said: The Vance-Owen plan has become [word indistinct] for the Croats. We want to implement it in full. Budisa then remarked that the implementation of the Vance-Owen plan was the very reason why negotiations should go on. Budisa said that he intended to hold talks with the Muslims in central Bosnia—if he was given the authority—on behalf of the Croats, because he believed that (?peace should be reached) through talks and not arms.

I asked Mr. Mate Boban to give a brief statement for Radio Television Bosnia-Herzegovina about whether there was any truth in Radovan Karadzic's statements, carried by most international news agencies, that he and Boban had agreed on the partition of Bosnia into two parts if the Muslims did not agree to a confederation.

Mr. Boban then told me: I have never agreed to anything with anyone, particularly not with Karadzic. However, I will not give a statement for Radio Television Bosnia-Herzegovina, because they would not broadcast it in Sarajevo anyway, and even if you give an account of what I say, you will not be (?believed). Then Mr. Drazen Budisa gave a longish interview for Radio Television Bosnia-Herzegovina.

This was Nada al-Isa reporting from Zagreb for Radio Television Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Karadzic: Bosnian Serbs Seek Access to Adriatic

LD3006223593 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2043 GMT 30 Jun 93

[Text] Belgrade, 30 Jun (TANJUG)—Serb republic president Radovan Karadzic said in an exclusive interview with POLITIKA—to be published tomorrow—that the document on so-called "transitional arrangements" envisages that Muslims would have access to the Sava River and the Adriatic Sea.

Karadzic specified that during the negotiating process on efforts to solve the Bosnia-Herzegovina crisis so far it was agreed that the Muslims should obtain a free zone in the Ploce port and a part of the ports on the Sava. The president of the Serb republic said that this would most likely be a port in Brcko.

He explained that the Muslims would have control over part of the port which they could use for the free transport of goods, adding that—on the basis of the same principle—Yugoslavia had its free zone in the port of Thessaloniki [Greece] before the war [World War II].

Karadzic also said that another issue discussed referred to Serbs being allowed access to the Adriatic Sea, but that no final agreement had yet been reached. According to him, a certain agreement was reached that the Croats should be given control over some territories in the Dubrovnik hinterland, and in return the Serbs would obtain access to the sea adjacent to the border with Montenegro, i.e. in the Prevlaka area.

Karadzic stressed that new maps on the territorial division of former Bosnia-Herzegovina were not yet coordinated and added that a final version of the maps could be expected after new consultations and negotiations. Karadzic rejected the accusations whereby the Serbs, in joint action with the Croats, were fighting against the third, Muslim side. "We are just helping the Croatian people in some areas so that they are not completely destroyed," Karadzic pointed out.

Croats Attack Serb Positions in Herzegovina

LD0107113593 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1107 GMT 1 Jul 93

[Text] Trebinje, July 1 (TANJUG)—Croat forces in the east Herzegovina battlefield, without being provoked, fired several mortar shells on Serb positions on Wednesday, and thus broke the promise given by their command in Dubrovnik that they would restrain from attacks, Colonel Novak Milosevic of the local Serb forces said on Thursday. Following strong artillery duels on Monday, Croat military and civil authorities in Dubrovnik sent a message to the Serb command on Tuesday—through the E.C. mission—that they would return only artillery fire, said Milosevic.

Regular troops of the Republic of Croatia on Wednesday opened small arms fire on the Trebinje battle front, and fired several mortar shells on Serb positions, but Serb forces did not return fire, local Serb military sources said.

There were no larger-scale combat activities on the Herzegovina battlefield on Thursday morning, except for Moslem attacks on Serb positions in the direction of Konjic, the same sources added. They said all attacks were repelled, and the Serb side sustained no losses.

In Herzegovina's largest town of Mostar, fierce Croat-Moslem battles continued on Thursday morning, reported Serb troops who hold positions east of Mostar.

'Chetnik Artillery' Shelling Gorazde

AU0107114693

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian, at 1000 GMT on 1 July, within its regular 22-minute newscast carries several reports on the fighting in the Republic.

A studio announcer says that "chetnik artillery has been shelling Gorazde since 0915 [0715 GMT] this morning. About 1100, when Mustafa Kurtovic phoned from the Gorazde Press Center, tank projectiles were destroying the town and killing and wounding civilians." Kurtovic is then heard saying that "the latest truce violation and the heavy shelling of the very town center and suburbs are being watched by the representatives of the United Nations [words indistinct] who are going to inform [word indistinct] and world organizations. We have been told, from the hospital, that they are investing huge efforts to [word indistinct] the seriously wounded, but also that, due to the shortage of oxygen, they cannot do much. We have been told from defense lines that our fighters are firmly keeping their positions."

An unnamed correspondent says that "the situation in Zepce is still extremely grave. Units of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the civilian populations have suddenly found themselves encircled when a dozen chetnik tanks appeared around the town. UNPROFOR personel are walking around without doing anything, although it is clear that there is a full cooperation between the extremists around Lozancic and the ones against whom we have been fighting for more than 15 months. The newly arrived forces of the Army of Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina cannot (?act) due to a huge number of refugees who have arrived from Novi Seher. Another proof of cooperation between chetniks and Ustashas is that a howitzer positioned at chetnik stronghold (words indistinct] alternately fired on Zepce and Zavidovici." Finally, the correspondent says that "it is relatively calm this morning."

A correspondent reports from Bugojno that "shortly before (?0300) this morning, several destructive long-range projectiles launched from the aggressor's positions fell on the outskirts (of the town)."

The studio announcer says that "as regards the situation in Sarajevo, according to reports that we managed to get from some of the public security stations—and, due to the telephone blockade, lines work only in the (?new) part of the city—one can say that it is mostly calm in Sarajevo. There are only occasional chetnik provocations with infantry weapons."

Attacks at Maglaj, Olovo, Kladanj, Gradacac, Brcko

AU0107094893

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian, at 0800 GMT on 1 July, within its regular 15-minute newscast carries several reports on the fighting in the Republic.

In his report from Maglaj, Hajrudin Sermic says that "chetnik artillery" shelled the town of Maglaj "until midnight" and that "the situation was most difficult in the completely occupied Novi Seher where the fighters of the (?201st) Brigade of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina have been withstanding chetnik-Ustasha attacks for the eighth day in a row." Finally, Sermic says that "a large number of the [word indistinct] citizens of Maglaj are on the brink of starvation and threatened by epidemics."

In her report from Olovo, sent via the Press Center of the Second Corps of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina, [name indistinct] (Salilhodzic) says that "enemy artillery attacked this (?heroic) town again last night" using "a 155-mm howitzer and 82-mm and 120-mm mortars. The explosions of howitzer shells are heard on this first July morning as well."

A report from Kladanj, by the Third Operation Group Information Service, says that "within the last 24 hours, on the Kladanj battlefield, the aggressor intensified provocation activities using antiaircraft machine-guns, anti-aircraft guns, death sowers [M-84 machine guns], and other point target weapons. Yesterday, as well as between 0600 [0400 GMT] and 0700 this morning, chetniks acted with a recoilless gun from the Trnovo region in the Sekovici Commune and pounded the defense lines."

A report from Gradacac says that "(?yesterday), [words indistinct] truce violation since it was signed. [word indistinct] infantry provocations, the aggressor carried out artillery provocations. A mountain gun [word indistinct] from (?Krecane) pounded our fighters' positions at Novovici and Lukavac." Finally, the report says that "in the evening hours, 82-mm mortars launched (?four) bombs at Gradacac suburbs."

A report from Brcko, by Hamiz Deronjic and Nihad Salihovic, says that "mortars were mostly used in the attacks on Brcko [word indistinct] last night. At 2020 last night, the aggressor attacked (?Rijeke) with mortars of all calibers. [words indistinct] since 2130 and throughout the night, 60-mm and 82-mm mortar bombs were falling on this section of the Brcko defense line along with an intensified infantry fire."

Bosnian Croats Admit Loss of Military Base

LD3006145193 Mostar Croatian Radio Herzeg-Bosna in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 30 Jun 93

[Text] Miljenko Lasic, commander of the eastern Herzegovina operational zone, has issued the following statement for the public.

Due to the treason of certain Muslims in the ranks of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] and the fierce attack by Muslim army units and Muslim civilians on the area of Bijelo Polje, Vrapcici, and on the Tihomir Misic

military base, which began at 0345 this morning, and due to difficulties in active defense, HVO forces were forced to leave some positions at the northern approaches to Mostar as well as the Tihomir Misic military base which is on the left bank [of the River Neretva]. By regrouping to a new defense line, the HVO forces have strengthened their strategic position, enabling them to mount a more effective defense of the Croat residents of the town.

Muslims, Croats Continue Battle for Mostar

LD0107115793 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1122 GMT 1 Jul 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, July 1 (TANJUG)—The battle for Mostar, in the south of the former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, between Muslims and Croats continues, reported Thursday morning both the Croatian radio and the Muslim Sarajevo radio.

The Croatian radio Thursday confirmed that Muslim forces have seized Wednesday the "Tihomir Misic" barracks in Mostar, which was a stronghold of the Croatian Defense Council (HVO—armed formations of Bosnian Croats). There were dead and wounded on both sides, the Croatian radio said, but did not state the extent of the losses.

The same source said the Muslim forces took also part of Bijelo Polje, some 10 kilometers north of Mostar, but the HVO units prevented linking up of the Muslim units from Mostar with those in Jablanica (north of Mostar).

The Muslim Sarajevo radio said Thursday morning the Croatian forces, following a "heavy defeat," shelled civilian sections of Mostar Wednesday afternoon in retaliation.

The same source said that after the Fourth and the Sixth Corps of the so-called army of Bosnia-Herzegovina joined, "battles for definitive liberation of the Mostar municipality are expected to ensue."

The battles between Muslims and Croats around Mostar, which began two months ago, intensified again Wednesday.

"Ethnic cleansing" of Mostar Serbs had been carried out thoroughly over the past year. According to the 1991 census, there were 30,000 Serbs, 44,000 Muslims and 43,000 Croats living in Mostar. Today, in Mostar and the Neretva River valley, where another 15,000 Serbs lived, they are no more.

UNPROFOR Withdraws Troops

AU0107131693 Paris AFP in English 1305 GMT 1 Jul 93

[Text] Sarajevo, July 1 (AFP)—Sporadic shooting was reported in the southern Bosnian city of Mostar Thursday as Croat forces there said they lost ground to advancing Moslem troops after fierce fighting.

The U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) here meanwhile said it withdrew a company of about 100 Spanish soldiers from Mostar Wednesday after Croat forces threatened to attack them.

UNPROFOR spokeswoman Patricia Purves, said the unit headed to its base in Medjugorge, north of Mostar, after receiving a fax from the Bosnia Croat army, the HVO, advising them "that the company must immediately leave the city."

"There is only sporadic shooting in areas north of the city," said Drago Maric, a spokesman for the HVO in Mostar, on Thursday. He was contacted by telephone from Zagreb.

The fighting flared Wednesday after a predawn offensive by the mainly Moslem Bosnian army that killed seven people—five HVO soldiers and two civilians—and injured about 30 Croat troops, said Maric.

He said the Moslem troops suffered up to 20 casualties, one of whom was their local deputy commander, Midhat Hujdur.

Maric confirmed earlier reports that Moslem troops had gained control of a hydroelectric power station located on the banks of the Neretva River about 10 kilometers (six miles) north of Mostar. But he denied that another plant in the city's northern suburbs had also fallen to the Moslems.

UNPROFOR in Sarajevo said Thursday that the Moslem troops had gained control of Croatian military barracks located north of Mostar, on the banks of the Neretva River that runs through the city.

The victory allows Moslem troops to have open access to forces loyal to Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic, a Moslem, who are stationed further north in Jablanica, 30 kilometers (18 miles) away.

The opening of this corridor is vital for resupplying Moslem troops in Mostar who are completely cut off from all other Moslem regions in Bosnia.

Maric said Wednesday's Moslem offensive forced the HVO to pull out of several regions on the northern outskirts of the city and accused the Moslem troops of assassinating entire Croat families during the onslaught and of holding many civilians prisoners.

The HVO ordered a general mobilisation Wednesday calling on all men of military age to report to their units or HVO offices.

Mostar, where Moslem troops hold most of the territory on the left bank of the Neretva River and Croat forces most of the ground on the right bank, is the "capital" of the self-declared Croat state of Herceg-Bosna and Bosnia-Herzegovina's second city after Sarajevo.

The UNPROFOR spokeswoman, Lieutenant-Colonel Purves, said U.N. observers patrolling near Mostar on Wednesday said they saw several buildings in flames on either side of the river.

She said the situation was also escalating in Jablanica, a strategic crossroads town between Mostar and Sarajevo, where fierce fighting and heavy shelling Thursday forced about 200 Spanish U.N. troops to seek refuge in underground shelters.

UNPROFOR spokesman Jose Gallegos said Moslem troops were advancing Thursday on the strategic region of Dreznica, between Mostar and Jablanica. He said the Croats had set up a checkpoint along the road preventing any U.N. troops from reaching Jablanica.

"No U.N. vehicle will be permitted to cross any Croat checkpoint in this area," he said. "We were told that if they tried they would shoot without warning."

Fighting was also reported Thursday in the northern Bosnian region of Brcko and the central Bosnian region of Zepce, where Serb troops are opposed to HVO forces.

In eastern Bosnia, scores of shells rained down on Gorazde Thursday, a city designated as one of six U.N. safe havens, a spokesman for the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees said.

The shelling, which left an unknown number of casualties, occurred as a convoy carrying 80 tons of humanitarian aid finally left for the city after being held up by Serb forces for five days.

Muslims Capture Strategic Points

AU3006142293 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 30 Jun 93

[Text] The fiercest clashes have been taking place in Mostar, where the fighting has been under way since last night. The Bosnia-Herzegovina Army has thwarted an attack by strong forces of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO], and captured, in a counterattack, the strategically important Tihomir Misic, in the northern part of the city.

The Mostar Press Center reports that the Army has captured, without firing a single bullet, the region of Vrapcici, the dam of the Mostar hydroelectric power station, and Rastvane.

Over 20 Dead in 30 Jun Fighting

LD0107102993 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 1 Jul 93

[Text] In last night's battles in Bijelo Polje near Mostar the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] prevented the Muslim army in Mostar from linking up with its forces in Jablanica. As we have already reported, following yesterday's attack by the Muslims on the HVO's Tihomir Misic barracks in Mostar the HVO abandoned the barracks under pressure from the more numerous enemy.

Mostar is rather quiet following yesterday's battles in this city. In Vrapcici, Rastani, and Bijelo Polje the Muslims have killed a large number of Croatian civilians. A certain number of civilians have been taken prisoner. At least three HVO defenders died and 30 were wounded in the fighting yesterday. Mostar's war hospital has also received the bodies of two dead civilians. Muslim sources report that at least 18 of their soldiers have died.

Muslims Capture Croatian Barracks

LD3006114993 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0921 GMT 30 Jun 93

[Text] Belgrade, 30 Jun (TANJUG)—Members of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army have once again been attacked by Croatian Defense Council [HVO] forces in Mostar, Muslim-controlled Radio Sarajevo reported this morning.

The same source reported on heavy fighting in the town throughout the night and this morning. According to a statement released this morning by the headquarters of the 4th Corps of the so-called Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, HVO units are concentrated in the northern barracks, Vracik, and Bijelo Polje with the aim of launching an attack on the center of Mostar on the left bank of the Neretva River.

In the course of the latest clashes, the radio said, a considerable number of HVO troops were taken prisoner, while fighters from the 41st Motorized Muslim Brigade captured the northern barracks. Mirsad Hujdur, commander of the 1st Mostar Brigade and the 41st Motorized Brigade, lost his life in the fighting.

Other details of last night's and this morning's clashes were not disclosed, although it was added that Mostar is still resounding from bursts of gunfire and shell blasts from missiles launched by Croatian artillery units.

The radio of the Croat Community of Herceg-Bosna did not confirm the loss of the northern barracks, which was a major HVO stronghold on the left bank of the Neretva, but said fierce fighting took place in the northern part of Mostar this morning and is still under way.

'Entire HVO Unit' Surrenders

AU3006185093

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1700 GMT on 30 June carries in its regular 24-minute newscast several reports on the continuing fighting in the republic.

The Mostar Press Center reports that "the Tihomir Misic barracks, the strongest strategic point of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] on the left bank of the Neretva River, have been captured, as were many HVO fighters and a significant amount of weapons. Continuing the counteroffensive, the units of the 41st Motorized Brigade and other units of the Bosnia-Herzegovina

Army Fourth Corps captured Vrapcici, the dam of the Mostar hydroelectric power station, and the HVO stronghold in (?Varesici), where an entire HVO unit surrendered to the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army. Not a single bullet was fired in this operation." The quality of the reception deteriorates, but Bijelo Polje and the Salakovac hydroelectric power station are mentioned, followed with "according to the latest information, these 4th Corps units have linked up with units of the (?6th) Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army."

Reporting from the Foca-Trnovo front, Semso Tucakovic says that "during the last 24 hours, the aggressor has fired some 30 howitzer shells from Mount Jahorina on the small and almost totally demolished town of Trnovo. They used mortars against surrounding villages. Last night in one operation by the fighters of the 81st Hill Brigade on the western slopes of Mount Jahorina, 12 chetniks were killed and several more wounded."

The Gradacac Information Center reports that "apart from the usual small arms and sniper fire, the chetniks have started using artillery this afternoon from their stronghold in Visovi, firing 20 projectiles at the village of (?Jarikva)."

In his report from Brcko, Hamiz Deronjic says that "after the somewhat more intense fire this morning, this afternoon is marked by the usual provocative small arms fire."

Mustafa Kurtovic reports on a poor line from Gorazde said that "the chetniks are mercilessly shelling the entire defense line, razing villages, and murdering civilians before the eyes of the UN observers and UNPROFOR."

The Srebrenica Press Center reports that "today the aggressor has used heavy artillery against the village of (?Jetkovic) and the southern outskirts of the commune. Bosnian Serb paramilitary units are breaching with increasing frequency the UN Security Council Resolution 819 and 824, as well as the demilitarization agreement signed on 8 May this year."

Article Views 'Purges' in Muslim Leadership

AU0107105093 Sarajevo JAVNOST in Serbo-Croatian 19 Jun 93 p 3

[Miroslav Gligorovic article: "Katil-Firmans With a Retouch"]

[Text] Even the most aggressive propaganda issued by Sarajevo's Muslim media can no longer conceal the dissatisfaction, distrust, dissolution, and anarchy in the Muslim political-military leadership, the everyone-against-everyone intrigues as a reliable sign that their political concept and structure will soon break down. The most recent removals of Sefer Halilovic, head of the General Staff of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Jusuf Pusina, head of the Ministry of Internal Affairs [MUP], only top the heap rising from the mud of the Sarajevo hearsay society. In that mud all the fateful political decisions and moves for the Muslim people were made, drawing the Muslim people into the greatest tragedy of its short history. Sarajevo's "agas" and "begs" [noble titles in the Ottoman Empire], themselves already aware that they had chosen the wrong way for their unfortunate people, are trying to wash their hands by laying the blame on others, following the proven Bosnian methodology of Turkophile provenience, that is to say by katil-firmans [edict by Ottoman emperor suspending an official, usually delivered by a messenger who was at the same time an executioner] and silk ropes [the means of execution], but this time in somewhat more contemporary fashion. Agas and begs bring in the verdicts against their most zealous followers at secret meetings, sitting on ever harder divans, while the silk rope designed for the guilty has been replaced by a media campaign against those same people they vociferously praised until recently.

The Communist Recipe

The media rope is now tightening around Halilovic's and Pusina's necks, while those same means of (dis)information are not worried about who is going to believe them from now on, since only a few days before, in an open-ended show, they were celebrating them as heroes. What is the lie—when they praise them or when they besmirch them? As if nobody wonders about it any more, because the Sarajevo environment sank in the Oriental perfidiousness a long time ago, thereby making such questions pointless. It is also an environment where all the retrograde political pragmatisms and ideologies of the modern era, such as communist absolutism with all its negative occurrences, found fertile soil. One of those occurrences is a purge of the people who might represent a danger to the inviolable leader, followed by attempts to delete everything from memory, if possible. Although the following is not the topic of this story, it is worth mentioning to illustrate what has been happening in Muslim Sarajevo and the atmosphere in which people live and work there. Among other methods of squaring accounts with people removed from the political scene, the communist despots and tyrants used to erase, or rather retouch, the collective photos. Something similar is happening now in Sarajevo, but this time with ideas, institutions, or manifestations whose names had at least a small dash of Yugoslavism. Yugoslavism has become a word one has to fight against and eliminate not only from the present, but also from the past. So, for instance, several days ago Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE published a photo of Skenderija civic center, which shows a huge banner reading Sarajevo Biennial 1989. The photo was published as an announcement of an art exhibition thus named. No one in this Turkish colony raised his voice against this shameful forgery, although everybody knows that a great art exhibition took place in Sarajevo in 1989, but its name was not Sarajevo Biennial but YU—Documents, and it is exactly the latter that was announced by a banner in Skenderija. Is this a multimedia forgery, or a naive retouch?

Just as the name Yugoslavia is being removed everywhere, which is nothing but the elimination of 70-year-old traces of that state, Izetbegovic, and particularly his most loyal servants, are retouching one another, depending on whose turn it is. Was there anybody who dared to oppose Juka Prazina several months ago in Sarajevo? Prazina seemed to be more powerful than Izetbegovic himself, yet silently and almost imperceptibly the powerful Juka was expelled from Sarajevo with typical oriental perfidiousness, his men were arrested, while he was simply erased, as if he had never been the star of the Muslim paramilitary army in Sarajevo.

A similar thing recently happened to Sarajevo's second Juka [Juka is a nickname for Jusuf] Jusuf Pusina, head of the Muslim MUP, who found out only after a secret meeting of Izetbegovic's Presidency that a katil-firman had been prepared for him, and that he was removed from his post. When he learnt about his suspension, astonished and embittered Pusina demanded to be pensioned off. However, he was told not even to think about it, but to accept the nonexisting function of adviser for internal affairs in the same nonexisting Presidency. Thereafter Pusina disappears. His post was given to Bakir Alispahic, head of the CSB Sarajevo.

Promotions of Anonymous Commanders

Much more attention and comment in this Turkish colony were elicited by the removal of Halilovic, head of the General Staff of the Muslim army, who had been celebrated as a star in Sarajevo not so long ago. Perhaps the reason for the frame-up is exactly the fear that his stardom might overshadow those of Izetbegovic and his servants. The inevitable question is what those agas and begs would do if they really had a state, since they have already started plotting in the circumstances when they have neither land nor state? They have only war on which they blindly insist, and which, to be honest, is the only thing that makes them a relevant factor, so it is natural that in such circumstances the head of the army is the most influential political figure. For that reason Halilovic had to be removed, while all the failures of a totally abortive policy have been ascribed to Halilovic. Izetbegovic and his royal flock have still not comprehended the fact that not even Napoleon himself or any other great general would be able to change the course of the war to their advantage, and let alone petty officers, who are made stars overnight, and also thrown in the mud overnight.

Halilovic was removed because of a great number of casualties the Muslim army had suffered late in May on the mountain of Trebevic, and the recent death on the mountain of Igman of 70 jihad warriors who had carried out an action expected to be routine, or at least the official explanation of his suspension so states. It is interesting that no lower officer was made responsible for those defeats of the Muslim army. It is particularly interesting that Rasim Delic, new Muslim commander in chief, was also one of those lower, anonymous officers who led his soldiers from one defeat into another in the last 14 months, while it is exactly his range of responsibility (Breza and Visoko) where the number of Muslim casualties was the greatest, notwithstanding the fact clear even to laymen, that the Serbian defensive in Ilijas is invincible. Day after day Delic was forcing his subordinates into senseless onslaughts on Serbian land, where many thousands of them remained forever.

The day of Delic's removal will probably come soon, but he first has to be made a star, only to sink as deep as possible in the mud that has already been prepared for him. True, we should not care so much about Delic's fate, or about Halilovic's, Juka's, or any other fate in the Turkish colony and its political hierarchy. However, since that clique is waging war against us, it is interesting to hear voices and signals coming from the other side. According to what can be heard and seen now, chaos, dissolution, and degradation of all the moral and human principles are the only rule on that other side, which is a reliable sign of the Muslims imminent defeat and ruination. Oriental perfidiousness, intrigues, and Izetbegovic's despotic attempts will have to take great pains to prevent his downfall, as well as the failure of his insane political projects.

Serbs, Croats Exchange POW's

LD3006115193 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0928 GMT 30 Jun 93

[Text] Celebic, 30 Jun (TANJUG)—All 240 Serbian civilians from the Tomislavgrad (Duvno) area, who had been held prisoner in the village of Rascani for more than a year, crossed over to Serbian territory in Celebic near Grahovo late last night.

Following many unsuccessful exchanges of prisoners, another 102 Serbians from Livno were received in Celebic, and the Serbians and Croatians also exchanged 13 prisoners of war each.

As a TANJUG correspondent was told by Branko Dokic, an official in the Serb republic [of Bosnia-Herzegovina] government in charge of prisoner exchanges, it was agreed that all POW's should be exchanged as early as 2 July on the all-for-all principle.

At the same time it was agreed that all Serbian civilians from Livno, as well as Croatians from Grahovo, can have unhindered access to the territory of the Serb republic and the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosna respectively, and that the farmers owning land along the line of separation can freely farm their fields.

Exchanged Prisoners 'Lost, Scared'

LD0107132493 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1200 GMT 1 Jul 93

[Text] Celebic, July 1 (TANJUG)—After over a year of captivity and many delays in the exchange of prisoners of war between Bosnian Serbs and Croats, 240 Serbian

civilians from the Duvno municipality in western Herzegovina were bewildered once free again and on Serbian territory.

TANJUG's reporter could not detect either joy or sadness on the faces of those unfortunate people. They appeared lost and scared.

In April 1992, Croatian authorities forced all Serbs from seven villages in the Duvno municipality to Male Rascane, a village which had 61 inhabitants before the war started. At the same time, Croats imprisoned 128 Serbs who held jobs in the town of Duvno.

The Serbian Orthodox Church in the village was immediately blown up.

The first contact with the Serbian villagers was established by representatives of the Serbian Republic in Bosnia-Herzegovina (RS) on November 28 last year, mostly thanks to Dr Franjo Komarica, a Catholic bishop.

The initial agreement on the exchange of Serbs and Croats was reached in October last year.

The exchanged Serbian civilians said very little about what they had gone through. They had difficulty ridding themselves of fear after the extended captivity.

"Right after seizing power, Croats drove all Serbs in Tomislavgrad out of their flats," a man said.

"Only five of the 22 Serbian houses were not burned in the village Emin, but they were taken away," another man said.

"Their policemen came often, they drove us out of our homes together with the children, and went from one woman to another saying, 'Pick yourself which of your children I shall kill,' a woman told. Another said, 'We did not even dare cross the road...'"

Staka Savic, an old woman, said, "I watched them pillage and take away everything that was ours. Let God pay them back in an equal measure for what they have done to us..."

There was a general confusion during the exchange at Celebic, near Duvno, on Tuesday night. Croatian and Serbian soldiers, officers and policemen went about continually crying out, sometimes angrily, "Do not get off the road unless you want to be blown up by a mine. There are as many of them around as mushrooms after rain..."

Mile Bosnjak, a middle-aged man, was very excited and was lighting one cigarette after another. "No one can really tell about our suffering. I, although completely innocent, was beaten in prison for nine months. Nevertheless, I say it has turned out well for me. Pero Vazic, Milorad Andrijasevic, Simo Milisav, Slobodan Karas, Bozo Karas were taken away at the very beginning and they vanished as if they had fallen into a bottomless pit. That's how it is...," he told.

The 240 exchanged Serbian civilians believe that the Serbian villages in the Duvno municipality are no more for them.

Ambassador Satisfied With Extension of UNPROFOR Mandate

LD0107120293 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 1 Jul 93

[Text] In response to the passing of UN Security Council Resolution 847 extending UNPROFOR's mandate in the territory of the former Yugoslavia, Croatian ambassador in the United Nations Mario Nobilo said that this is so far the most strongly worded resolution supporting Croatia's territorial integrity. The resolution is not only of a technical nature, it is more significant politically. It condemns the [Serb] rebels' attacks in Croatia and as the last opportunity for serious talks [word indistinct] pressure on the local Serbs. The resolution gives Croatia the right to change its stand on UNPROFOR within one month, depending on whether the negotiations [with Serbs] develop in a positive direction. We can consequently extend the mandate or request its gradual cancellation.

New UNPROFOR Commander Cot Arrives in Zagreb

AU0107115493 Paris AFP in English 1143 GMT 1 Jul 93

[Text] Zagreb, July 1 (AFP)—The new commander of the U.N. Protection Force in former Yugoslavia, General Jean Cot, arrived in Zagreb Thursday, and said his priorty was to help and protect people under threat.

Cot said his first task was to "go out in the field to see and listen and then act as quickly as possible."

The general, 59, takes over the command of almost 25,000 men stationed in the area from the Swedish General Lars-Eric Wahlgren.

For his part Wahlgren, leaving after a four month interim period, said his goodbyes Wednesday at a ceremony organised at the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) general headquarters in Zagreb in the presence of U.N. mediator Thorvald Stoltenberg.

Addressing journalists who gathered to meet him at Zagreb airport, Cot avoided political comment.

He said only that the conflict "started against the people's will who have to suffer it, crying out in their distress and disgust."

Until his sudden appointment last week by U.N. Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali, Cot was in command of the first army in the east of France.

He is a very high ranking army officer and during his military career, which began in 1953, he served in Algeria and Germany.

Russia's Interests in Former Yugoslavia Examined

AU0107112993 Budapest PESTI HIRLAP in Hungarian 30 Jun 93 p 2

[Interview with Zdravko Tomac, deputy chairman of the Croatian Social Democratic Party, by Rokus Kalapis in Zagreb; date not given: "Russia Needs the Sea"]

[Text] Dr. Zdravko Tomac is a university lecturer, parliamentary deputy, deputy chairman of the Croatian Social Democratic Party, and former deputy premier. In Croatian political circles he is known as a "Russia specialist." At the time, he was the person who participated with President Tudjman in the Milosevic-Tudjman talks in Moscow organized by Mikhail Gorbachev.

[Kalapis] Mr. Tomac! Russia's triumphant return to the international arena began in Zagreb, with Vitaliy Churkin's unexpected visit, when he succeeded in persuading the Croatian leadership and the Serbs of Knin to sit at the negotiating table. What is your opinion about the "revival" of Russian foreign policy?

[Tomac] We can witness things in foreign policy which we regarded as unimaginable before. The great success of the Russian foreign policy is one of them. Now, when it is perhaps the weakest in the course of modern history, Russia has gained great influence in the Balkans, and it got quite close to the dream of Peter the Great, namely access to the warm seas. This is a paradox because, in recent decades or even centuries, the West used all its power to try to avoid this. The only explanation is that the leading U.S. circles came to the conclusion that this Russia did not threaten U.S. interests in any way whatsoever. When Moscow promised to try to positively influence Belgrade, it was given an opportunity, perhaps starting from the premise that Russia does not have actual power to do anything. It is another matter that the Russian foreign policy made use of the opportunity, and it is perhaps worth drawing attention to the fact that both Kozyrev and Churkin are professional diplomats, who know how to make use of the smaller and bigger conflicts of the Western allies; in my opinion, Washington was unpleasantly surprised by this. The aforementioned officials are not only professional diplomats but definitely talented ones as well, who know what politics is all about, as opposed to Warren Christopher, for example, who returned to politics after 20 years. I think that the U.S. fear of a united Europe, and particularly of the united Germany, greatly contributed to the great Russian return. I would also add that Western countries are engaged in a big struggle for the huge Russian market, where Germany alone already invested more than 80 billion marks.... This is not an insignificant factor in the background of the squabble in Western Europe. Whatever the case, the final result is catastrophic regarding Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia, because it seems that the international community will

accept the political solutions coming from Moscow, solutions that, unfortunately, are only favorable to Belgrade.

[Kalapis] I think that the dismemberment of Bosnia has put Croatia in a very difficult situation. The referendum held in the occupied territories of Croatia will open the possibility that Croatia might lose almost one-third of its territory. Is there any solution in sight?

[Tomac] The Croatian policy made a tragic mistake when it missed the opportunity to come to an agreement with the Muslims. Everything that came after this only kept making relations worse and, finally, the tensions degenerated into a bloody conflict. The Muslim-Croatian armed conflict in Central Bosnia directly benefited the Serbs. Thus, it is now quite clear that the dismemberment of Bosnia-Herzegovina also helps the dismemberment of Croatia, and Croatia is totally helpless in this. We could only return the occupied territories to our republic with foreign assistance, or at least with the political support of the international community.

Croatian Policymakers Suffer 'Paralysis'

93AE0515A London AL-HAYAH in Arabic 19 Jun 93 p 7

[Article by As'ad Taha: "Croatian Diplomacy in Paralysis; Zagreb Lags Behind Developments in Bosnia"]

[Text] Zagreb—Observers in Zagreb are nearly unanimous that Croatia's policy suffers from some sort of paralysis in dealing with developments. If it tries to move, it stumbles severely. Moreover, its movement is very tardy ordinarily. In this context, observers recall what Croatian politicians experienced when violent battles erupted in central Bosnia-Herzegovina as a result of the campaign launched by the separatist Croatian militias, known as the Croatian Defense Council, in Bosnia.

On the one hand, Croatian policymakers were surprised by the severe international condemnation, even by allies, of Croatia's role and involvement in the developments. On the other hand, they were surprised by the quick and decisive progress the Bosnian Army units were able to make on the ground. This has led to the rise of internal voices opposing openly for the first time the "negative" Croatian role in Bosnia, calling for preserving a united Bosnia, and confronting the Herzegovina wing in the ruling regime that embraces the idea of annexing Bosnian Herzegovina to Croatia.

The same thing has recurred in Serbian-Croatian relations. The Maslenica operation, with which Croatia sought to liberate this bridge area in the southern part of the country in order to link the north and south after the country's extremities had been cut off by Serbian occupation, was a military failure also, as it became obvious afterward. The bridge area was liberated but remained within reach of Serbian artillery. The Croatian Army could have advanced, but a political decision obstructed such an advance.

Croatia then launched its concerted peace endeavor to achieve peace with the Serbian "enemy." It dispatched its representatives openly and confidentially to negotiate with the Serbs on Krajina within the framework of a deal that was intended to include Bosnia-Herzegovina. Just as it had headed for war rapidly, Croatia was heading for peace with the same speed, despite the slow pace at which the Serbs moved.

Croatian politicians' enthusiasm was not diminished by the tepidity and arrogance the Serbs displayed toward them, which reached such a degree that Josip Manolic, head of the Serbo-Croatian talks committee, commented on the Serbian delegation's failure to arrive in Zagreb to carry on with the talks, as previously agreed, "We shouldn't despair of the failure of the Serb representatives to arrive, because the adversary has to be given enough time to organize his ranks."

But the time was late. The Serbs realized fully that they were living during a time of weakness on the part of the international community and that they could carry on with their endeavors to achieve their expansionist dreams and that, moreover, there was no reason for them to give up territory or dreams. Furthermore, the resolution by the illegal parliaments of the Bosnian Serbs and Croatian Serbs to hold a general referendum on the 19th and 20th of this month on the principle of unity between them is a prelude to declaring a federation with the mother Republic of Serbia within the "Greater Serbia" plan.

This news has amazed the Croats. Official Croatian agencies have maintained utter silence on the decision, excluding a passing statement by the [Croatian] parliament speaker. The silence continued until a decision made by the Croatian Constitutional Court last Wednesday declared the referendum resolution null and void.

Meanwhile, last month Belgrade Radio reported the news of the declaration of a state of alert in the Knin area in anticipation of a Croatian offensive. This means that the Croatian element has again moved from the position of "negotiator" to that of "combatant." It seems that the talk about Croatian military action harbors some truth. A Croatian military source has assured AL-HAYAH that large Croatian troop concentrations are heading for the frontlines with the Serbs, especially toward Vinkovci, situated east of Slavonia, "where some areas can be liberated easily. Plans for this purpose have been ready for some time, awaiting a political decision." The source added that other Croatian troop concentrations are gathering near Zadar, where it is feared that the Serbs will launch attacks to separate Northern Dalmatia from Lika, to occupy Obravac, and to separate Knin from Benkovac.

Another source has asserted that vast quantities of weapons and munitions were sent by the Serbs to Bosnia

prior to the war and that the Serbs are moving these weapons to Krajina now in preparation for a possible new round of fighting.

AL-HAYAH has tried to explore the official Croatian position. But the majority of high-ranking officials avoided answering. Meanwhile, Zvonimir Markovic, an ambassador at the Foreign Ministry who was scheduled to assume the position of ambassador to Belgrade, has said, "The Serbs' objective is to maintain the status quo. We shouldn't expect any flexibility on their part. Under the canopy of this Serbian policy, we have to wait for the forthcoming referendum." He added, "We have remained patient for two years. But we cannot continue to be patient with those who sit on Croatia's backbone and who push it toward the wheelchair of the disabled."

Viselin Benovic, deputy chairman of the Serbian People's Party of Croatia and leader of the Serbian deputies' bloc in the Croatian parliament, has told AL-HAYAH, "Croatia has been very tardy. Krajina will not agree to make any concessions now." Benovic also expressed the belief that the referendum will lead to a new war. He called for altering Croatia's Constitution to state that the Serbs of Croatia are a majority people and not an ethnic minority. He also called for altering Croatia's political system so the country will become very much like a confederation, "else war will knock at the doors anew."

Possibility of Croatia Attacking Krajina Examined

93BA1165C Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Jun 93 p 6

[Article by Radoje Arsenic: "Will Croatia Attack Krajina?"]

[Text] Zagreb, 10 Jun—If the Serbs in Krajina persist with the announced referendum on unification with the other Serbian lands, "the Croatian authorities will have to take all available steps to prevent that. Croatia will be entitled to do that, because it is an international state recognized within its borders."

With these words, carried by Zagreb newspapers, Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia, responded in China to the question of Croatian newsmen in connection with the upcoming referendum of Krajina Serbs, thereby merely confirming what was already known here, i.e., that Croatia is preparing to cut the Gordian knot of Krajina by force of arms. At least that is the hope.

For that matter, Tudjman has been quite clear in this regard, above all a week ago in a ceremonial meeting of the Croatian Assembly in celebration of the "third anniversary of Statehood Day." Making the further stay of the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] on the soil of Croatia conditional only upon the Security Council altering authority in the sense that it could "bring Krajina" under the authority of Zagreb by force, Tudjman described the further course of events this way, unless the Serbs themselves "come to their senses."

"If that should not prove to be possible, then, like any state, we will use every means to reestablish constitutional order, because no state can tolerate a lasting rebellion on its territory. The democratic authority of Croatia not only has the right, it also has the duty to reestablish the constitutional order and security for all its citizens over its entire internationally recognized state territory."

Quiet Mobilization

It is of interest that the situation was almost identical when Croatia seceded from the state of Yugoslavia—which was independent, sovereign, and internationally recognized, and which in addition naively believed that the principle of civilization concerning the impossibility of a forcible change of borders was valid, but Tudjman never answered the question of whether the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] should have acted according to the same logic, right, and obligation in defense of the territorial integrity of the state of Yugoslavia, which was in fact its constitutional obligation.

However, that is another story. But now it is a fact that again many reservists in Croatia are at this very time being called up into their units, which is so noticeable that it is a rare person who does not know any friend or relative or any family from which someone has not had to go put on a uniform again.

There is a noticeable nervousness among the public on this basis, because they have a good idea what this "quiet" mobilization could mean: The date of the Krajina referendum is approaching, which only confirms that the Serbs have not "come to their senses," as Tudjman recommended that they do, and if the present regime thinks of doing something concrete along the lines of its threats, then when is it going to do it, if not before everything is all over?

In any case, there has been much talk in recent days in Zagreb to the effect that something of that kind could occur sometime in August, but under present circumstances that really would not have any logic. As matters now stand, the announced new state of the Serbs from Bosnia and Herzegovina and Krajina would by that time already be fairly well connected. That is, that is how the thinking out loud goes here.

We will soon know whether all this will be only a repetition of the saying about the laboring of the mountain, but it is interesting to see how those who have something to say on this topic are reacting to the possibility of Croatian aggression against Krajina.

While the belligerent wing of the incumbent regime has been threatening as we have described and rattling sabers toward Krajina (which also includes the criminal trial just started against officials of Krajina, who are directly involved as negotiators between Knin and Zagreb, which presumably has never been recorded anywhere as yet), there are also those prestigious individuals who have

been vigorously opposing any armed action against Krajina Serbs, because they feel—and so argue—that such an adventurous move would only bring Croatia new damage and at the same time it would not solve the main problem.

A Croatian Blitzkrieg

Those who are opposed to Croatian military intervention against Krajina (at least before the end of the year) include Karl Gorinsek, a former colonel in the JNA and then commander of Croatian forces in the Osijek region, whom Tudjman removed from that high military post because of his sympathies for the Liberals (and he is now on the HSLS [Croatian Social-Liberal Party] "shadow government" in which he holds the defense portfolio).

This military expert says that only a brief war, a kind of "blitzkrieg," would suit Croatia, and that it does not have the strength for waging war very long. Nevertheless, he feels, in case of an offensive against Krajina, Croatia would take large losses, he estimates at least 8,000-10,000 dead Croatian soldiers, not counting civilians, and three- to four-fold more wounded. "There would also be disastrous destruction of large cities within range of the battlefield (Osijek, Vinkovci, Djakovo, Sisak, Karlovac, Gospic, Sibenik, Zadar, and others, and the old theaters like Prevlaka and Dubrovnik would also be reactivated," Gorinsek says. He warns:

"The Serbian forces on the territory they now occupy are well-prepared for defense from the engineering standpoint, with obstacles in the form of minefields, with the infrastructure for communications and artillery support. The Serbs still possess a sizable number of people, and they also have considerable wartime experience. The essential thing is that the Serbs are no longer advancing, but are dug in, and it is well-known in military theory that the defender always takes smaller losses than the attacker."

Prof. Josip Zupanov, who incidentally has not been heard from in public for quite a long time, said in an interview in the most recent number of GLOBUS that "a Croatian military action against Krajina would result in total war with the FRY, in which Croatia would suffer horrifying losses and would not achieve its objectives." In addition to that, Zupanov believes, "a military action would evoke rapid and harsh sanctions of the international community, not precluding even military intervention against Croatia, and the fact that after the Maslenica operation the French rapidly sent their carrier 'Clemenceau' to the Adriatic can serve as a meaningful warning."

Taking all in all, anyone who analyzes with any seriousness what could result from a Croatian military action against the Krajina Serbs arrives at a similar result: high human casualties and immense destruction, while the basic problem would not be solved, that is, reintegration of territories with a majority Serb population into the constitutional system of the Republic of Croatia.

At the same time, it is a fact that Croatia really can hardly do without the territories it has now lost, especially because the most important communications linking the central part of Croatia to the other areas run through them. Given the extremely harmful consequences for the entire economy of the republic, that kind of situation is having a very negative impact on the entire social consciousness of this community, and in the face of that increasingly tangible danger, the more nervous segment of the current regime could make moves that would end in general chaos. One such step might be possible aggression against Krajina which—as we see—has been "promised" even from the highest places.

Data on Croatia's Army, Weapons

93BA1168A Podgorica POBJEDA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Jun 93 p 10

[Article by M. Labovic: "From the Source on Missiles"]

[Text] *Croatia's Armed Forces have about 170,000 members, and the number of paramilitary forces is unknown. High-quality and modern missile equipment; 600 air defense systems.*

A few days ago Goran Hadzic, president of the republic of Serbian Krajina [RSK], announced to the public that Croatia's armed forces were massing upon the RSK's borders, probably with the intention of starting the offensive long ago announced to recover "their territories." The same announcement was also issued by the leaders of the Serbian republic and the headquarters of the VRS [Serbian republic army], because according to their information the Croatian forces that are now mobilized for combat against the Muslim forces are prepared to start an offensive against this army's members.

The latest data from the British publication DEFENCE AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS, which has almost credible facts about Croatia, its army, weapons, and bases, are as follows:

Minister of Defense: Gojko Susak

Total armed forces: 170,000 members

Paramilitary forces: strong, but the number is unknown. There are numerous paramilitary factions that are not under the government's control, while some are under the control of opposition political factions.

Available population: 1,866,000 men between 15 and 49 years old, with 43,000 young men subject to recruitment each year.

National Guard Corps

Personnel: 167,000 members

Organization: 77 brigades

Equipment: armored weapons: 270 T-51/55, T-32, and M-84 main battle tanks. The delivery of another 130 T-72 main battle tanks is in progress.

Armored vehicles: 380 personnel carriers of different types, and the delivery of another 200 armored vehicles is in progress.

Artillery: 820 heavy artillery weapons, including multiple rocket launchers (MRL); the M-65 Plamen; the M-77 Oganj; 105-, 120-, and 152-millimeter towed howitzers, 203 122-millimeter self-propelled howitzers, and 67- and 130-millimeter cannons.

Antitank missiles: 2500 Armbrust and RPG-7 Mamba launchers. Anti-tank guided weapon: the Milan Euromissile (allegedly!); surface-to-surface missiles: an unknown number of R-300 Scud surface-to-surface missiles, and various other missiles.

Surface-to-air missiles: 100 short Blowpipe and numerous Stinger (portable) missiles. It is believed that a certain number of former Soviet surface-to-air heavy missile systems have been purchased.

Antiair artillery: 600 different systems.

Mortars: 60-, 82-, and 120-millimeter M-82's.

Light weapons: the basic infantry weapon is the AK-47, while in April 1992 the Sokac automatic rifle, of domestic manufacture, was added to the arsenal.

Negotiations are being conducted on purchasing another 300 T-82 main battle tanks, additional Armbrust antitank missile launchers, additional GD Stinger portable surface-to-air missiles, and SA-7 portable surface-to-air missiles.

The navy has 1,000 members.

Organization: four patrol boats; two missile boats; one torpedo boat; six assault boats; and 24 small boats.

Coastal artillery: several coastal batteries with 85-, 88-, and 90-millimeter cannons; 16 coastal batteries with 130-millimeter cannons.

Air Force

Personnel: 2,000 members

Organization: two squadrons for air combat/ground support with 25 MiG-21 aircraft; one squadron for attacking ground targets with SU-Frogfoot aircraft; at least one multipurpose squadron with about 40 aircraft, including probably two Saab-105's.

Helicopters: 24 units of different types, mostly armed, while 12 MI-2 and six MI-8 helicopters were ordered, and probably also delivered (by May 1993); two Pumas and four Gazelles.

Some of the aircraft already mentioned can be used for training, mostly those with propellors. Four L-59 jet trainer aircraft (light attack aircraft) have been ordered, and probably already delivered.

The main air force bases: Zagreb, Krk, Pula. Negotiations are being conducted on an unspecified number of MiG-29 and MiG-21 combat aircraft, IL-76 and AN-2 transport aircraft, MI-8 helicopters, various aircraft bombs and air-to-air missiles, air defense radar systems, and warning and tracking radar systems.

Federal

SPS Announces Integration With Montenegrin Party

AU3006184893 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 30 Jun 93

[Excerpts] At the news conference held by Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS] Secretary General Milomir Minic and Vice President Goran Percevic, it was announced that the SPS and the Democratic Party of Socialists [DPS] of Montenegro would integrate and unite. The reason for the news conference is yesterday's session of talks held in Podgorica between the top leaderships of the two ruling parties. Vladimir Nikolic reports:

[Nikolic] Yesterday's talks were part of the regular work of the two most powerful parties in the country. [passage omitted] Minic also said:

[Begin Minic recording] The concrete activity we agreed upon is that a board be established composed of representatives of both parties, whose job it would be to find the most appropriate organizational forms for the integration of our parties. [end recording]

[Nikolic] Special attention was paid to Yugoslavia as a federal state and to the federal parliament. It is our view that the federal administration must be made smaller, cheaper, and more efficient. As far as the federal parliament is concerned, we agreed with the DPS leadership that we would play our part in ensuring that more attention is paid to the basic activity of this body, the passing of laws.

Minic announced the passing of system [sistemski] laws, which would strengthen the position of the federal state. On the external level, full support was given to the presidents of the two republics in having the crisis in former Yugoslavia solved peacefully, and in finding a solution that will lead to a lasting and just peace and to the suspension of the unjust sanctions imposed on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the SPS secretary general stressed.

The leaders of both parties also gave full support to the republican governments, which should synchronize their activities to contribute to the solving of social and economic problems. The SPS's vice president, Goran Percevic, [words indistinct] of left oriented parties, not only on the federal level, but also on the territories of the former Yugoslavia, primarily on the level of the Serbian republic [of Bosnia-Herzegovina] and the republic of Serbian Krajina.

It was our stand that, while the war lasts, the time is not right for party activity, but we now have requests for the establishment of organizational boards. Some have already been established. We will not wait, but will extend our full support, said Percevic.

Foreign Influence, Designs in Balkans Viewed

AU2606190593 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 26 Jun 93

[Commentary by Slavoljub Susic; recorded]

[Text] The increasing mention of Kosovo-Metohija and neighboring Macedonia as potential hotbeds of crisis obviously represents an additional pressure on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, as well as an expression of interest of the world power centers in ensuring their influence in this strategically significant region in the Balkans. Here is a military-political commentary by Slavoljub Susic:

[Susic] Is this an awakened altruism of the potentates or a way to disguise very specific political, economic, and military-strategic interests, particularly when one analyzes the attitude toward the relatively small territory of Kosovo-Metohija with only a little over 10,500 square kilometers? The answer obviously lies in the latter, because the region of Kosovo-Metohija possesses an extraordinary geopolitical military strategic significance both for the defense of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and for the world centers of power redividing their influence in the wider region of the Balkans.

Kosovo-Metohija represents a remarkably wide state territory on which a second strategic defense zone can be organized in the case of aggression against our country. It is not by chance that we are threatened with the opening of the so-called southern front, something that is particularly wished by Albania. Military strategists consider the region of Kosovo-Metohija to be ideal for an air assault of such an operational and strategic level that these forces can maintain supremacy until armored-mechanized units and other army forces [snage kopnene vojske] arrive. The interest of (?non)-regional forces in Kosovo-Metohija results from the fact that it is from that region that one can most easily cut off the link between central and southeastern Europe. Therefore, the support to secessionists among Kosovo Albanians can only be interpreted as an attempt to further divide, that is, Balkanize the territory of the former Yugoslavia.

Let us also mention the Islamic green line that would lead from Turkey over Thrace, Bulgaria, and Macedonia and would also go through Kosovo-Metohija as well as through Raska all the way up to Velika Kladusa in Bosnia. Of course, other countries' aspirations toward the Balkans are also not small. For instance, through the humanitarian action of delivering food to Albania—with the symbolic name of Pelican—Italy has again ensured its military presence in Albania and thereby the possibility of controlling both sides of the Otranto Strait at the entrance into the Adriatic. Out of recognizable historical reasons, Germany has clearly expressed its inclinations toward the northwestern part of the former Yugoslav federation and open revanchism toward Serbia and Montengro. The United States, however, is broadening the network of military bases onto Albania and the former Warsaw Pact members in an obvious attempt to

prevent Russia—once it recovers—from reaching the warm Adriatic Sea via Romania, Bulgaria, and Serbia.

The increased influence of foreign factors on the new divisions and clashes among Balkan countries and peoples on the basis of religious and ethnic criteria—something that happened in the former Yugoslavia based on AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia] decisions—and the appearance of new powers, protectors with their own interests, is certainly not a road that would lead to peace and stability in these regions. Therefore, the Balkans should be given back to its peoples who are—despite everything—capable of recognizing their national interest and the interest of the region in which they live.

Kontic's Economic Policy Viewed as Ineffective

AU2806101593 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 19-20 Jun 93 p 1

[Bojana Jager article: "A Virgin Who Refuses Nobody"]

[Text] Those who claim that it is no longer not possible to homogenize people, because material and spiritual poverty has totally finished them off, are absolutely wrong. On the ever more infrequent and ever more overloaded public transportation system, something is developing that does not exist among the politicians, among the political parties, in the Assemblies, between the police and citizens, nor in relations among the states of rump Yugoslavia—the deeper the crisis is, the more the tolerance of the people squeezed into the buses grows. They simply push one another more gently than they used to when faith in the national dignity corresponded to the fact that those same buses, propelled by some normally imported oil, carried some normal people. All those people are now united by the common hardships, there is nobody to stand out as a traitor by taking a taxi, because all wallets are now empty, while the traitors are uncovered at the meetings of the assemblies and listed in police reports.

It is as if, having profoundly studied a sociological problem called a bus, one of the radical representatives praised those same people while commenting on the new miniprogram of economic stabilization drafted by the Federal Government, and said that, with its stoic tolerance, our people have proved that thay had no match in the world, and, moreover, would tolerate even further (in other words, as much as the authorities require), if the state were to provide for, at least, a mere survival and health-care. Kontic's team did not promise that little, it says the sanctions will last, there will be a fall in production, even greater inflation, and more and more social disturbances, but the goal of the government is to put a brake on these tendencies as much as is needed to accomplish the well-planned "20 percent of the further fall of the gross national product in this year." Furthermore, Kontic's ministers explained that "one would have to measure out the minimum of endurance, in order to prevent it from going beyond the citizens'existential limit." Still, nobody has succumbed to panic because of such a bright perspective.

The unfortunate Federal Government recently administered the devaluation of the dinar for the second time in the couple of months of its mandate, which is a sheer acknowledgement of the defeat of their economic policy, which did nothing to save our currency. In healthy economies, devaluation is a planned measure to encourage production and exports. In a country rejected by the entire world and short of any trade activities with the rest of the world, the devaluation is only proof that the state has not been able to beat inflation, and that the measures administered in March have failed. The goal of that devaluation and distribution of the primary issue through six chosen bank systems for buying off hard currencies is only an attempt (some say fruitless) to take over the hard currency market from speculators, and to make citizens' remaining hard currency reserves pour into the Central Bank, so that the state is able to import the most necessary, existential goods—medicines, energy, and so forth. Of course, it will soon be clear who is stronger—individual speculators, state speculators, the republics, or the federal state. Unfortunately, it would not be wise to bet on the latter.

As for other issues, the Federal Government has definitely made a bad compromise with the ruling political establishment. As usually happens with a hot potato, the establishment palmed off its failures and previously created problems onto the government under the cloak of insincere cooperation. The fact that Kontic's cabinet is now saying, clearly and loudly, what Milosevic and Bozovic should have said much earlier, which they did not (they even claimed that short-lasting sanctions were a challenge to the spirit and intellect of the nation)—that the sanctions are a long-lasting deterioration, that there is little remaining room for maneuver, and that no successful economic policy can be pursued under the sanctions— seems to be of little significance. When the time comes to square all the accounts, that fact will not help Kontic at all, while some people are already working on Kostic's paying not only his own bills, but also those of the others.

Over all these months, a political lobby has forced the Federal Government and the National Bank of Yugoslavia to print piles of money in order to invigorate production, which dropped during this year to 40 percent of the same period last year. The Kontic government has not dared, before or now, to say clearly that the entire situation is a farce, and that the state should give up passing judgment on which production is prospective (that was before) and which production may meet the demands of the Yugoslav market (meaning now—however, if there are such demands, the production would be financed by the market, and not by the National Bank, for God's sake). The exception in the existing blockade may be only 10 or so vital products, and nothing else.

What is another issue in which the Federal Government accepted to be duped? Without having any means to carry it out, it agreed to promise a monthly 50-percent drop in inflation within a discernible time, which is a pure fantasy. The Federal Government has little influence on the primary issue because, together with the Central Bank, it behaves as if it were an obsessed girl who is not able to say no, and because there are several places where the primary money has been made, while everybody lives on that money: the impoverished state, because there is nothing to put a tax on, its employed-unemployed people, the refugees it took in, those who are dependent on hollow pension and social funds, and so forth. And, in the moment when it finally seemed that the Government would succeed in passing a new bill on the National Bank of Yugoslavia—that should have concentrated monetary power under a single jurisdiction—the whole thing failed in a parliamentary comedy, since the representatives of the ruling party undermined the Assembly quorum when the bill should have been passed. Which is to say, everything obviously still revolves around power and money.

The Federal Government agreed to give up its influence on spending cuts, while it is expected that the total spending this year will make up as much as 77.8 percent of the gross national product, which is a catastrophe. The budget balances, certainly not the last this year, clearly show that one should not have bitten at anything serious—either at the army, or at the so-called uneconomic outflow of the national product to Krajina and other regions, while only well-informed people know how much the police costs. To cut a long story short, even more money will be printed.

All the so-called anchors of this program—spending, wages, monetary and hard currency policies—directly depend on the economy arranged between the republics, which is as good as nothing. What has been generously left to the Federal Government, as its exclusive jurisdiction, is to put limitations on the majority of prices, because the only thing hungry people demand from the state now is to have something to eat every day, and to wash themselves occasionally—how quickly we forget how a life worthy of a civilized man looks like! Kontic's cabinet has taken over jurisdiction over the prices late, since the republics have literally ruined many branches by speculating on distribution during the pre- and post-election periods.

Nevertheless, one has to say that this suggested miniprogram could not have been different, and it is rather the political environment than the constitutional and legal system that shaped it. The people, who were systematically cheated and, at the end, literally robbed by the current authorities, are facing poverty, and unfortunately, everybody who offers a piece of bread is now much closer to the people than those offering economic and political changes. Milosevic knows that, and Kontic as well. The difference is that the former wants to use that poverty to strengthen his position, while the latter is naively trying to save the ruined economy in an impossible way. The third one to understand the situation perfectly is Vojislav Seselj. At the latest session of the Federal Assembly, when the program of the Federal Government was backed up, his radicals, as if all of them had read one and the same homework, persistently insisted on socialization, demanding that the toil-worn people finally experience the happiness of equally dispensed pensions and wages. So long as the sanctions are in force, and they may go on forever, I shall justly distribute misery. Well-contrived plan, is not it?

What the Federal Government failed to perceive is that the ruling party is using it to endure the summer, and it even gave the Government an additional 100 days, only to endure until things ends up in Seselj's concept of socialization. Of course, the ruling party knows that the one who gives up on war trumpets and wins the race for socialization will attain, or retain, power.

Regarding the economic and social policies, in the Federal Assembly a representative quoted Kis [Danilo, famous Serbian author]: "God, how quickly the darkness falls here." Can there be any social revolt in the darkness, and to what amount of German marks should wages be reduced in order to elicit a revolt? There is not going to be any revolt. Those whose wages dropped from 2,000 German marks to 50 are already defined as war veterans. The police have also clearly shown, in another example, what will happen if, in social outbreaks, somebody tries to tear the authorities to pieces, instead of a mere flag. When one thinks about it a little bit more, the darkness did not come so quickly—it took its time.

Issue of 'Nuclear Factor' in Balkans

93BA1165A Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 18 Jun 93 p 50

[Article by Srboljub Bogdanovic: "Cold (Con)fusion"]

[Text] Two questions are troubling more and more those who like to follow strategic analyses concerning our country: Does Yugoslavia have the A-bomb, and could it make one?

If one is to judge by LE FIGARO of Paris, the mystery above was solved two weeks ago when this newspaper discovered that Serbian scientists in the Vinca Institute are on the way to making a nuclear weapon, which they are doing on the principle of "cold-fusion technology." This means that the answer to the first A-question is negative, for the present, because presumably only someone who lacks the bomb would be engaged in making one.

According to Mirko Stojcevic of the Institute for International Politics and the International Economy, all these speculations are a waste of paper. Unambiguously: Yugoslavia does not have atomic weapons, nor do any of our neighbors have them. "The nuclear factor in the Balkans has no great importance. Even if someone obtained a nuclear weapon, this would only alarm the

international community. He would not dare to use the weapon even in extreme desperation, because that would be political suicide," Stojcevic says.

The sensation in what LE FIGARO has written is not the fact that the Serbs are making a nuclear weapon, even if that were accurate, but the datum that this weapon is being prepared on the principle of cold fusion, which is a concept which is associated in science with the so-called Pons and Fleischman experiment. The content of the experiment is that during electrolysis of heavy water, conducted under ordinary laboratory conditions and at room temperature, thermal energy is given off at low neutron radiation.

No one afterward has been able to reproduce the Pons and Fleischman experiment, performed in 1989, and there are serious doubts about its validity, which, in other words, could mean that cold fusion is a name for something that does not really exist.

"We performed experiments with cold fusion for the last time in 1989, several days after their publication. This was purely and simply a scientific curiosity, an experiment done on the basis of the great enthusiasm of all the participants, no one ordered it, nor did anyone pay for it. Because there was no money for further research, and the results obtained did not encourage further efforts, experimentation with cold fusion was halted in Vinca and was never resumed," says Dr. Scepan Miljanic, senior scientific associate at the institute.

The "fusion fever" was aroused by the possibility, if cold fusion should nevertheless prove to be possible, of most existing sources of energy being moved into the ancient history of technology, because cold fusion, it is thought, would be a completely clean, safe, inexpensive, and perfectly practical and lasting source of energy. Scientists who only prove that cold fusion exists at all are guaranteed the Nobel Prize and a place alongside Einstein and Tesla. According to LE FIGARO, Serbian scientists are on the way to managing all that and will use it to make a nuclear bomb.

"We did not succeed in reproducing the Pons and Fleischman experiment in the way in which it was described, and we in fact published this in FUSION TECHNOLOGY, and it seems that that is also the case of the countries which have researched this much more intensively," says Dr. Miljanic, pointing to certain research which completely discredited that experiment.

The distinction has to be made between hot fusion and cold fusion. Dr. Slavoljub Pesic, scientific adviser for cold fusion at Vinca, says that this is an "exotic" field; he believes that too much of this is being assumed, there is too much that is unconfirmed, and if in the future cold fusion does prove to be possible, the range of its application is uncertain. On the other hand, Dr. Pesic has much more belief in so-called controlled hot fusion as a field which is much closer to concrete results, as in fact can be seen from the immense investments being made in this field in the West. "Solving the problems of hot fusion would signify a complete and permanent solution of energy problems on the earth, and at the same time this would also be environmentally acceptable. To be sure, the first fusion reactors with deuterium and tritium would not be environmentally ideal, but it is believed that even the second generation of reactors would be absolutely clean."

The basic difference in application between hot and cold fusion (if the latter exists) is that large power plants would still be necessary for controlled hot fusion, while cold fusion is more practical in every respect. There is no question of the application of all this research to military purposes, and NIN's informants are unanimous on that point.

The development of our own conventional (fission) atomic bomb would first of all presuppose enriched uranium, and that requires installations which are so large that they cannot be concealed in any way. The fact that the awkwardly large nuclear installations, if they existed, would have to be easy to spot, is probably a part of the answer to the question of why LE FIGARO, if it wanted to launch the story about the Serbian nuclear danger, also needed a sci-fi scenario concerning cold fusion and a nuclear instant bomb.

Most of our informants are agreed that at the present level of international confusion nuclear weapons could be obtained much more rapidly, inexpensively, and discretely by a simple purchase than by developing an independent nuclear program. They probably know that in Croatia, which both in the world and in our country is being mentioned more and more frequently in the "atomic context." A short time ago, a newspaper here carried the news of the readiness of Stevan Dedijer, nuclear physicist, to help the Croats in making their national atomic bomb. We were unable to learn much about Stevan Dedijer (brother of Vladimir, the late historian) except that this is probably the person who was long ago director of the institute in Vinca and who later lived in Switzerland, where he taught industrial espionage (!).

Regardless of the fact that in the general assessment the atomic bomb is only a question of time and money, we were told by Drazen Vorkapic, scientific associate at Vinca, who worked in Zagreb until recently, that in his opinion the production of this weapon nevertheless represents a big problem for Croatia, unless, of course, Germany or some similar protector helped them.

Conventional methods, then, will continue to be used in overcoming Balkan quarrels, without the threat of an atomic club. It requires money and time, which is what all of us together have the least of. And a good thing too, because, as the scientists say, all of the rest would be more or less routine. Or, as they say in Vinca, quoting the popular saying: "If one fool can do it, so can another fool."

Serbia

Draskovic, Wife Charged With Criminal Offenses

LD3006162193 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1433 GMT 30 Jun 93

[Text] Belgrade, 30 Jun (TANJUG)—The district prosecutor's office in Belgrade has brought charges against Vuk Draskovic, leader of the Serbian Renewal Movement, for the criminal offense of preventing an official from performing security duties, the prosecutor's office announced today.

The same bill of indictment accuses Vuk and Danica Draskovic of committing the criminal offense of being part of a group that had committed violence, and proposes that the defendants remain in detention.

The text of the announcement, signed by District Public Prosecutor Miodrag Tmusic, says:

The district prosecutor's office in Belgrade has brought charges against Vuk Draskovic of Belgrade, for the criminal offense of preventing an authorized official from performing security duties as described by Article 24, Paragraph 3, in connection with Paragraph 1 of the Law on Public Peace and Order of the Republic of Serbia, in that, on 1 June 1993, in front of the main entrance of the Assembly of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, he punched the face of Djuric Ilija, an authorized official of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Serbia, after which the victim fell to the ground and subsequently suffered grave bodily harm in the form of brain damage, as a result of which he was unable to continue performing security duties for the protection of the Assembly building.

The same bill of indictment also accuses Vuk and Danica Draskovic, both of Belgrade, of rallying a large group of citizens through their influence and activities and directing them to perform violent acts, in that, in Belgrade on the afternoon of 1 June 1993, as the ringleaders of a group that, through joint actions, took the life of one person while seriously injuring four and slightly injuring 24 and damaging property to the amount of around 14 billion dinars, they committed the criminal offense of being members of a group that performed violent acts as described by Article 230, Paragraph 2, in connection with Paragraph 1 of the Criminal Law of the Republic of Serbia.

The bill of indictment suggests that the defendants, Vuk and Danica Draskovic, should be held in further detention.

Detention Extended

LD0107113793 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1057 GMT 1 Jul 93

[Text] Belgrade, 1 Jul (TANJUG)—The Belgrade District Court's prosecutor's office today extended the detention of Vuk and Danica Draskovic for two months at the proposal of District Prosecutor Miodrag Tmusic, acting Court President Vladimir Danilovic has told reporters.

According to him, Judge Janko Lazarovic will henceforth be in charge of the Draskovic case.

Macedonia

Membership in CSCE Denied Due to Opposition

LD3006164293 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1613 GMT 30 Jun 93

[Text] Prague, June 30 (TANJUG)—The former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia on Wednesday was not admitted to the full membership of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) because of Albania's opposition and an indirect Greece-Cyprus veto.

Despite all other CSCE members' appeal to accept the "sincere readiness of the government in Skopje to implement the principles and provisions of the CSCE," this former Yugoslav republic will only retain its current status of an observer.

Albania said it would give its approval if Macedonia recognized its national minority the status of a nation, while Greece and Cyprus insisted that the CSCE should give up the procedures of accepting Macedonia as a full-fledged member so long as its status is resolved at the United Nations.

Greece opposes the recognition of Macedonia under this name maintaining that this ex-Yugoslav republic, with its name, expresses territorial claims on the northern Greek province of the same name.

Kosovo

Bukoshi Views 'New Wave of Oppression'

AU3006204893 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 25 Jun 93 p 9

[Interview with Bujar Bukoshi, prime minister of the Kosovo republic, by Davor Ivankovic, place and date not given: "Never Serbian Slaves"]

[Excerpts] *Dr. Bujar Bukoshi is the prime minister of the Kosovo republic and is still operating in exile, as is most of the republic's political life. Kosovo is under strict army and police occupation by the Serbian regime. Bukoshi arrived briefly from Germany—where he lives in hiding from Serbian agents—to Vienna for the U.N. Conference on Human Rights. Bukoshi was in constant touch with Albanian President Sali Berisha during his stay in Vienna. Berisha made a memorable speech at the conference against the Serbian regime, demanding the deployment of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] in Kosovo.*

[Ivankovic] Mr. Bukoshi, what was the reason for your trip to Vienna?

[Bukoshi] The delegation of the Kosovo republic's government has come to Vienna to warn the international community and public once again about the critical situation in Kosovo. There is a new wave of oppression, state terror, and occupation, which we call temporary. It is reflected in daily attacks on the Albanians, who make up 93 percent of the population of Kosovo. Every day there is looting, break-ins, arrests of our party's (Democratic League of Kosovo, LDK) political activists and the activists of other parties.

Under Four Serbian "Armies"

[Ivankovic] You say that you are under occupation by four armed Serbian formations.

[Bukoshi] Yes, under occupation by the Yugoslav Army, [Zeljko Raznjatovic] Arkan's and [Vojislav] Seselj's chetnik formations, and the Serbian police. One might also add that the regime is arming Serbian citizens. Anyway, such chaos has been wreaked that one can no longer distinguish the army, the police, the private army, the chetniks, and so forth.

[Ivankovic] How many Serbian forces are presently deployed in Kosovo?

[Bukoshi] We do not have the exact number, but there are at least 70,000: 45,000 troops, and about 25,000 policemen, with the strategically positioned heavy artillery, of course. These units are constantly on the move and, according to our information, heavy additional forces of the Serbian army are amassed at border points between Serbia and Kosovo. There is a vast discrepancy between such a destructive strength as the Serbian forces and the practically unarmed Albanian population.

[Ivankovic] What do you mean practically unarmed?

[Bukoshi] There is this story that the Albanians are very well armed. I do not exclude the possibility that people have a certain amount of smuggled weapons, but it is mostly old stuff, revolvers, hunting guns, a few rifles, and so forth. However, in comparison with what the Serbs have, these are just toys. [passage omitted]

[Ivankovic] How reassuring are the views of the U.S. Administration?

[Bukoshi] The U.S. policy is the most advanced. They have understood the situation in Kosovo better than the others. They know that something concrete has to be done. We would like the United States to lead Europe, which is still undecided over the war. One thing is clear, until Serbia is militarily defeated, it is illusory to expect it to sit at a table and talk.

[Ivankovic] Everyone has been wondering why Serbia still has not initiated an armed conflict with the Albanians, and has not started carrying out ethnic cleansing in Kosovo.

[Bukoshi] Some say that the Serbian policy is insane. I think that it is not so much insane as extremist, radical, aggressive, and organized. That is why they have not started a conflict in Kosovo. They know that when they do start, they will have not only 2 million Albanians in Kosovo to deal with, but 7 million Albanians in the Balkans! We are aware of the fact that we will suffer great losses initially, in the first wave, but then the real war will start. Where there is war, there are weapons, we will find them, and there will also be guerrilla warfare. It will be a catastrophe and the Serbs know it. [passage omitted]

Albanians Have Spoken

[Ivankovic] Would you accept a certain level of autonomy for Kosovo, or is the only option an independent state of Kosovo?

[Bukoshi] The Albanians have spoken. We have completed the normal democratic process from the referendum to multiparty elections (secret, that is, semisecret elections were held in Kosovo in 1992, and LDK won 76 percent of the vote). The most realistic solution would be for Kosovo to become a neutral independent state, without any pretensions of being a closed, primitive state. Kosovo will have open borders, open even to Serbian interests because of the myth about the "cradle of Serbianhood." We respect that, we respect Serbian monuments. We preserved those same monuments during the Ottoman Empire.

We do not have hard, extreme views. It is not realistic at the moment to seek unification with Albania. Kosovo should be neutral, it should have its own borders—the borders from that former wretched Yugoslavia!

[Ivankovic] What did you discuss with Albanian President Berisha in Vienna?

[Bukoshi] I travel to Tirana frequently. We have intense consultations, as we are now doing in Vienna. We coordinate our activities. Albania is very interested in having this young Albanian democracy develop now, not to have it involved in a war. Albania is doing everything to avoid war, but it insists that the rights of the Albanians in Kosovo be respected. There is no patronage there.

[Ivankovic] The problem of Albanians in Macedonia?

[Bukoshi] Macedonia is an issue that has to be given serious consideration by everyone. We support Macedonia's existence as a state. However, there is a problem with the Albanians in Macedonia, as their rights have been denied them in the past, and they were treated as second-class citizens. The Macedonian authorities now have a chance to create a stable state in cooperation with the Albanians, otherwise the 40 percent of Albanians that make up Macedonia will destabilize it, and it is already standing on shaky legs.

[Ivankovic] You claim that the Serbs who escaped from Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina are moving into Kosovo?

[Bukoshi] The Serbian regime is intent on bringing colonialists into Kosovo at any cost. Fortunately, we have not had a mass influx. Only several thousand Serbs have arrived so far. They do not want to come here, there is nothing for them here, no future. Kosovo is overpopulated as it is.

[Ivankovic] What kind of problems do you personally have because of your activities?

[Bukoshi] If I were to return to Kosovo, I would be either arrested or killed. They are searching for me. Part of the Kosovo republic's government is abroad, but a majority have remained in Kosovo. We are trying to organize the functioning of the government in parallel, but it is extremely difficult.

[Box, p 9]

UNPROFOR in Kosovo

[Ivankovic] Only international observers are present in Kosovo at the moment. You insist on the deployment of UNPROFOR.

[Bukoshi] We are not satisfied with the number of observers. There are 16 of them now, although 21 were proposed. Kosovo should be covered by a network of observers. Even so, observers will not help solve the situation since all they do is observe and write reports. But if they were immediately to send troops to Kosovo, as they have to Macedonia, then it would be different. It all comes down to whether the world is prepared to do this, because the technical capacity is there. There is NATO, there are the U.S. forces, all that is lacking is the political will.